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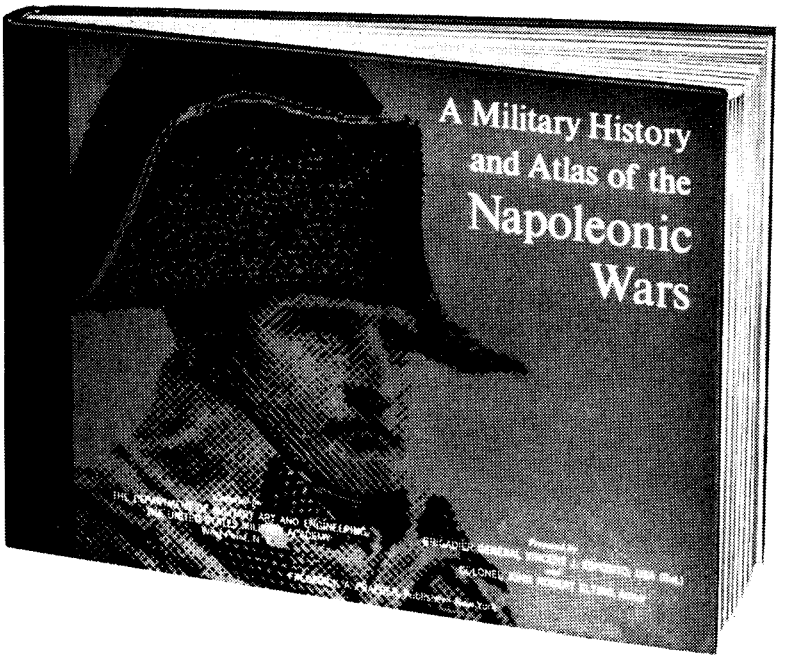
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The Loom of Language and the Fabric of Imperatives: The Case of *Il Principe* and *Utopia*

J. H. HEXTER*

THIS essay concerns the way two men, Niccolò Machiavelli and Thomas More, in two books, *Il Principe* and *Utopia,* used a few words. It argues in effect that the peculiar ways in which these men worked at the loom of language indicates that they stood in a peculiar relation to the fabric of imperatives of their own time.

The loom of language provides men with the words and word patterns by means of which they communicate with one another. By processes so complex as to require a separate branch of the science of linguistics for their explication, words and patterns of words undergo a great variety of changes under a wide variety of circumstances with the passage of time. By glacially slow modifications of an ancient tongue whole new language families evolve. Words come to point to things they did not formerly designate, or cease to point to things they did designate. New words are created

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to designate new-found things, or old ones are put to new uses in the process of discovery. And, massively, words and word sequences drop out of use and become archaic or obsolete, which is to say unintelligible or nearly so. The changes even in a language relatively as stable as English during the past four hundred years have been such that in teaching Shakespeare or expounding Scripture from the King James Version, the expositor finds himself becoming more and more the translator in the technical sense—the person engaged in finding equivalents of the words of his text that will be intelligible to his audience.

This essay proposes to deal with a small sample of a particular kind of change in language, and that kind itself amounts to only a tiny fraction of the changes that language constantly undergoes. The few changes to be investigated here, however, may have a particular interest for historians, especially for historians of ideas, of moral sentiments, of political institutions, and of social structures, which means for a great many historians today. They may have this interest because of the peculiar circumstances in which they took place. For one thing they did not emerge anonymously from the folk; they were the work of readily identifiable individuals—More and Machiavelli —each of whom made a strong and indelible mark on the history of his times. In the second place the changes were not casual word coinages. The words that will concern us concerned More and Machiavelli; in effect they are not words merely *dropped* by their authors but words *placed* (or in one instance not placed) by them. Finally when Machiavelli and More tampered with the sense of the words that will concern us, they cared not at all or not solely for the aesthetic impact or the logical efficiency of what they were doing. They were concerned with the relation of those words and their meanings to the men and communities of men that they knew best. They were in effect concerned with the product of the loom of language in the area where it weaves the fabric of imperatives.

In contrast to the region of "I want," the fabric of imperatives occupies the whole region of "Thou shalt," of "You ought," of "I ought."[1] Between these two regions there is for each of us a greater or lesser measure of congru-

[1] To pile yet one more metaphorical phrase on an area already blanketed by "patterns of culture" and "webs of values" may seem a contribution only to a confusion of tongues already quite sufficient. But although what the phrase "fabric of imperatives" refers to in this essay certainly lies in the blanketed area, the part it covers, while overlapping the parts covered by the other phrases, is not identical with either of them. "Patterns of culture" refers to the things the people of a culture normally do. Thus in the adolescent male American subculture of my day, boasting—sometimes quite remarkable in its inaccuracy—about one's amorous achievements was a standard pattern. It was not, however, part of the fabric of imperatives; there was no explicit rule to the effect that wholesome American boys ought to lie like Ananias about their priapic exploits. The notion of "web of values" will not do because the term "value" appears to have become highly ambiguous, and in the process of aggravated bifurcation it has left uncovered

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ence, but whatever the correspondence may be, the regions are functionally distinct. The one concerns the satisfaction of human desires, the other the rules of human conduct. The function of any fabric of imperatives is so to regulate the satisfaction of human desires as to make the living together of men at least possible, and at most to make it good. The fabric of imperatives regulates the satisfaction of human desires by sanctions ranging from the overtly coercive ones of law enforced by public power, through the pressure of community opinion working by means of gossip and social acceptance or rejection, to the still small voice within.

Because the fabric of imperatives determines the ordinary day-to-day expectations of men with respect to the actions of their fellows, it is resistant to drastic and sudden change. It is also of varying density at a given time and over spans of time. Thus in the Middle Ages it lay relatively thick with respect to matters of male attire and relatively thin with respect to acts of physical violence, whereas today it lies thin with respect to the former and thick with respect to the latter. And this is as much as to say that despite its resistance to alteration, the fabric has in fact undergone alteration. Thirdly, it is subject to stress from a variety of sources: changes in technology, in the range and depth of human understanding, in the direction of human aspirations and desires, in the forms of social and political institutions, in the relative power and the demands of interest groups, in the character of men's faith and hope. Finally, to cope with the tensions generated by such changes, and to prevent them from fatally rending the fabric of imperatives, all but very primitive societies support a specialized maintenance force to keep it in repair. In most societies we find among these specialists the doom deemers or law givers, the judges, the priests or holy men, and the pedagogues. Moreover, in particular ages and particular cultures the maintenance work is undertaken by different kinds of men—in ancient Greece, for example, successively by epic poets, lyric poets, dramatists, and philosophers; in the West by theologians, humanists, philosophes, and today by sociologists, psychoanalysts, novelists, and editorial writers. What these men have in common is an expertise at the loom of language that enables them to produce

an important area lying between its two segments. In one sense it seems to mean the highest goals that individuals and communities set for themselves; in the other sense it means whatever men and groups of men want, as revealed by their actual choices and stated preferences. It has long been used in approximately this sense in economics and is occasionally so used in sociology, e.g., in Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (Glencoe, Ill., 1952). The notion of a "fabric of imperatives" covers but also extends far beyond the web of values in the first sense, and it occupies a different cultural region altogether from the web of values in the second sense.

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the material they deem necessary to reinforce or patch or rebuild or modify the fabric of imperatives in accord with their often varying estimate of the need.

Most specialists at the loom of language are satisfied most of the time to work to preserve the fabric of imperatives pretty much as they find it. This is why what they produce is often insufferably monotonous and repetitive. But all the specialists are not always satisfied. Most of the subversive initial and direct onslaughts on the fabric of imperatives have been delivered by men who come out of the milieus of the maintenance specialists. Their divine or daemonic discontent is not a rarity to wonder at; it is a common and repeated fact of history.

Since the work of registering or initiating the transformation of imperatives falls to maintenance specialists who are word weavers, in the course of drastic changes, attempted or achieved, in the fabric of imperatives, something odd usually happens at the loom of language. This fact may provide us with a useful tactical resource for the investigation of the history of ideas at a point where, to borrow the title of a very poor book, "ideas have consequences." A careful study of activity at the loom of language may render possible the close identification of points of stress in the fabric of imperatives at a particular moment.

The stress or breakdown in the fabric of imperatives does not always register in the sort of change at the loom of language that so sharply calls attention to itself when one word wholly replaces another in an area of human discourse. Sometimes the change is not a change *of* words but a change *in* words, an alteration of meaning that leaves the verbal shell intact. When such a change takes place in words widely current prior to the change and still widely current today, he who attempts to understand the fabric of imperatives by studying the loom of language needs to proceed with considerable caution. In the first place it is easy to miss such a change altogether. Having descried the change, however, the investigator may unwarily assume that the word has shifted all the way from its previous sense to its present range of connotation. This is by no means always the case.

The above monition about changes in words is necessary because the examination of several such changes will be our concern in what follows. The changes occur in two works on politics written in the years just prior to the Reformation: Machiavelli's *Il Principe* (1513) and More's *Utopia* (1515–16). From the time they reached the public to the present those two slim books have exercised a powerful and continuous fascination over men's minds, a

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fascination more powerful than that of any works contemporary with them. Yet, is it useful to attempt to understand what More and Machiavelli were doing to the fabric of imperatives by an investigation of the language of *Utopia* and *Il Principe* only? To do so raises serious and difficult questions. Is the More of *Utopia* the *real* More? Did More *really* believe what what he wrote in *Utopia?* Did Machiavelli *really* believe what he wrote in *Il Principe?* Is the Machiavelli of *Il Principe,* that hasty chance tract, the *real* Machiavelli? Is not the real Machiavelli rather the author of the *Discorsi,* the work that represents the meditation of a lifetime? [2]

If by the real Machiavelli one means that aspect of the man which expressed itself in his most durable concerns, convictions, habits of thought, and patterns of action, then probably the *Discorsi* better than *Il Principe* reflects the real Machiavelli. But this identification of the real Machiavelli is a dangerous game; it has led to the dubious inference that only those elements in *Il Principe* duplicated in or reconcilable with the *Discorsi* represent the real Machiavelli, and that what is left over is to be disregarded or explained away. Yet so to treat *Il Principe* is to miss perhaps the most important point about it. What gives *Il Principe* its remarkable power and its perennial liveliness is that in it Machiavelli's imagination takes wings and his vision soars above his ordinary perceptions and conceptions to a new height.

And so it is with Thomas More in *Utopia.* If the Machiavelli of the *Discorsi* rather than of *Il Principe* is the real Machiavelli, the More of the letter to Martin Dorp in defense of Erasmus and Christian humanism,[3] the More of the *Dialogue concerning Heresies* supporting Christian unity against its enemies,[4] rather than the author of *Utopia,* is the real More. The unique heights they attain above their own times put *Il Principe* and *Utopia* beyond the ordinary reach of the contemporaries of Machiavelli and More—beyond the reach of *all* their contemporaries, and therefore beyond the reach of More and Machiavelli, too. For it is not necessary to believe that almost two

[2] This issue is frequently raised with respect to both these books and a considerable number of other great books, Plato's *Republic,* for example. It was raised, in fact, by one of the readers to whom the editor of the *AHR* sent this study. The following section first written to meet the issue with respect to *Utopia* alone as part of the introduction to *Utopia* (New Haven, Conn., 1964), Volume IV of the Yale edition of *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More,* is included here in slight paraphrase at the suggestion of the editor of the *AHR* and with the kind permission of the executive editor of the Yale edition, Professor Richard Sylvester.

[3] Thomas More, *Correspondence of Sir Thomas More,* ed. E. F. Rogers (Princeton, N. J., 1947–), no. 15; Thomas More, *Selected Letters,* ed. E. F. Rogers (New Haven, Conn., 1961), no. 4.

[4] Thomas More, *A Dialogue concernynge heresyes and matters of religion,* in *Works of Sir Thomas More, Knyght, sometyme Lorde Chancellor of England, wrytten by him in the Englysh tonge* (London, 1557), cols. 103–104, pp. 105–288.

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decades or even two years later Machiavelli and More saw all things precisely as they saw them in the moments of acute perception that possessed them when they wrote *Il Principe* and *Utopia*. Sustained imaginative vision is indeed like being possessed; it is not necessarily progressive or cumulative or even readily preserved intact. It is a dizzy height that a very few men scale once or twice in a lifetime and fewer still attain more often. When such vision is turned on the ways men live together, it may bring some facets of human affairs into focus with a fierce brilliance, but in so doing it is almost bound to throw whole spans of men's experience, the visionary's as well as others', into the shadow. The greatness of a book that does this lies not in its harmony but in its intensity. And after he has attained this height the writer of such a book may seem not to advance from it but to recede from it. In regaining his balance he loses some of his impetus. This happened to Machiavelli after he wrote *Il Principe;* it happened to More after he wrote *Utopia*. In both cases the convictions the books express are not so much repudiated as drawn back into the setting from which something like poetic inspiration had momentarily freed them. They are not consciously rejected but integrated with their writer's previous habit of thought and thereby transmuted and toned down.

Although in *Utopia* and *Il Principe* More and Machiavelli rise above their milieus, it is their own milieus they rise above and therefore have in view as they write. This much relation at least each man's book bears to his own time and place, and although the times of More and Machiavelli were closely contemporaneous, their places were different in ways most significant for what they wrote in their great little books.

The place of Machiavelli was Italy; the rest of Europe and the rest of the world he saw only with fragmented, unfocused, peripheral vision.[5] To him as to his contemporary fellow Florentine and fellow student of the past, Francesco Guicciardini, the Italy of his day was the scene of massive and utterly appalling political disarray, of *calamità,* following with catastrophic suddenness an era of order, prosperity, and peace.[6] This view is at odds with that of a number of historians who have seen and see the entire age of the Renaissance in Italy as one of political confusion, violence, and decay. It is nevertheless confirmed by a reasonable consideration of the evi-

[5] This is evident enough even in Machiavelli's descriptions of France and Germany written after he had been engaged in legations to both those lands. (Niccolò Machiavelli, "Ritratto delle cose di Francia," in Machiavelli, *Tutte le opere di Niccolò Machiavelli,* ed. Francesco Flora and Carlo Cordiè [2 vols., n.p., 1949], I, 677–90; "Ritratto delle cose della Magna," *ibid.,* 697–702.)

[6] Francesco Guicciardini, *Opere,* ed. Vittorio de Caprariis (La Letterature Italiana, Storia e Testi, XXX [Milan, n.d.], 373).

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dence. From the death of Giangalleazzo Visconti in 1403 to the incursion of Charles VIII of France in 1494 Italy enjoyed a level of tranquillity among its centers of political power and even within its political units that to contemporary Frenchmen, Englishmen, Spaniards, and Germans could only have seemed Elysian. If everything was not well—and of course during those ninety years everything was not always well anywhere in Italy and was about as bad as ever in Naples—still it was better than the hideous turmoil that plagued the transmontane monarchies for decades on end.[7]

Machiavelli had lived out his youth in the last golden days of a near century of political stability. In that happy autumn of illusion the brutal interventions of barbarians from across the mountains were but a memory of dark days past. In his young manhood Machiavelli saw the bitter end of Italy's autumnal dream. The barbarians came again. In 1494 the French host of Charles VIII swept, irresistible as a winter storm, from the Alps to Naples. That storm of armed force left the old political lines of order among the Italian powers and of rule within them in blasted disarray. And this was but the beginning of a series of political disasters for the Italians that reached a climax but did not end in Machiavelli's lifetime. He not only lived in the midst of these disasters; in his most active years he wholly gave himself to an attempt to stave them off or temper their effects in his native Florence.[8] In this he failed wretchedly and utterly, and his failure captured him. He spent the rest of his life in an almost obsessed contemplation of the apparatus—the levers and gears—of political power.

With the passion of the failure who seeks his own justification, Machiavelli tried to find in political action some sort of meaning not canceled by each random gesture of that fickle bitch Fortuna. Never was Machiavelli more fully obsessed by politics than in 1513, the year when with an aimless hand Chance swept away at once his means of livelihood and his way of life. With the Medicis in tow, a Spanish force had thrust aside as if it were not there the Florentine militia on which Machiavelli had lavished his pains, effortlessly turning into a nightmare joke the fifteen years he had given to the work of maintaining the political viability of the republic. The restored Medici deprived Machiavelli of his office, tortured him on suspicion of complicity in a plot against them, and exiled him from the city.[9] The fate of Italy and his own fate had become inextricably intermeshed, and he

[7] Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London, 1955), 83–100, has pointed out how precarious and imperfect the order of Italy was from 1403 to 1494. The contrast between Italy and the great transmontane realms remains nonetheless remarkable.

[8] Roberto Ridolfi, *Vita di Niccolò Machiavelli* (Rome, 1954), 22–197; John Hale, *Machiavelli and Renaissance Italy* (London, 1961), 31–131.

[9] Ridolfi, *Vita di Machiavelli*, 197–214; Hale, *Machiavelli and Renaissance Italy*, 131–41.

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needed above all to know how it had come about that in his day Italy was "overrun by Charles, sacked by Louis, outraged by Ferdinand, and disgraced by the Swiss,"[10] while he had to spin out his life on a wretched farm in the hills of Tuscany. And so in 1513 he channeled but scarcely controlled his passion for politics, pouring his frustrated urge for deeds into a spate of words, somehow compounded of ice and fire, which became *Il Principe*.

Others might talk sensibly about silks and woolens, about profit and loss, but, he wrote, "for me it is fitting to talk sensibly about *lo stato*, and I must do so or take the vow of silence."[11] Machiavelli took no such vow. Whether sensibly or not, during the next few months in *Il Principe* he talked much about *stato*,[12] and readers of that work have long recognized that Machiavelli had done something to *stato* that wrenched it out of its medieval matrix of connotation.[13] The men who made this discovery were themselves heavily committed to political nationalism. The consequence was almost inevitable: they took Machiavelli's *stato* and decked it out in all the finery of the modern national state, passionately and romantically conceived as the politically unitary expression of the will of the nation's people.[14] For a number of reasons this view of the matter just will not do. The most obvious difficulty is that in Chapter xxvi of *Il Principe*, where somewhat belatedly Machiavelli assumes the stance of an Italian patriot (belatedly since Chapter xxvi is also the last), the word *stato* does not appear at all, although it occurs in all but three preceding chapters;[15] in effect where Machiavelli starts talking about Italian patriotism is where he stops talking about *lo stato*.

The problem then comes to this: in *Il Principe* Machiavelli imparts a peculiar twist to the term *stato* which might indicate that when he wrote the book he was doing something odd to the current fabric of imperatives. But what is the peculiar twist? And precisely what, if anything, does it do to the fabric of imperatives? In the first place *stato* appears in *Il Principe* only rarely in the senses in which it appeared very frequently in medieval political writing and in the writing of such a contemporary of Machiavelli's as Claude Seyssel. Machiavelli scarcely ever used it to mean "condition in general" as in "solid state," "state of war," "state of mind." Nor did he use *stato* much more often in the sense of "social condition" or "order of society," as the "estate of the nobility" or "estates of the realm." The word occurs 115 times

[10] Niccolò Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, Chap. xii.

[11] *Id.*, *Lettere* (2 vols., Lanciano, 1915), I, 127. The letter is dated April 1513.

[12] His letter to Francesco Vettori of December 10, 1513, suggested that he had nearly finished *Il Principe*. (*Ibid.*, II, 24–27.)

[13] For a full elaboration of most of what follows about *stato*, see my *"Il principe* and *lo stato," Studies in the Renaissance*, IV (1957), 113–38.

[14] See, e.g., Francesco Ercole, *La Politica di Machiavelli* (Rome, 1925), 65–196.

[15] All except Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, Chaps. xiii, xvi, xxv.

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in *Il Principe*. In 110 times it does not have either of the common medieval denotations just described. All those 110 times it denotes something that we would call political, not something we would call either social or general.

But what exactly does it denote those 110 times? To this question the embarrassing answer is, "We cannot say," or more justly, "*Il Principe* does not tell." One Italian student of linguistics, Fredi Chiapelli, thought it did tell,[16] and proceeded to classify the denotations of *stato* he believed he had found in the book. He came up with 75 per cent of the occurrences denoting "state in its full maturity with its fundamental political, territorial, and national implications," and a scatter of other occurrences with four or five other denotations.[17] Unfortunately Chiapelli's method vitiated his own argument. He started by substituting "state in its full maturity" wherever *stato* occurred. Where it happened to fit, he accepted it as the denotation Machiavelli intended; he did not try any of his other denotations of *stato* to see if they fit. Then he divided the *stati* he had left over, the ones that "state in its full maturity" did not fit, among those other denotations. The trouble is that in almost every case where "state in its full maturity" fits in the immediate context, one or more of the other untried denotations of *stato* also fit quite as well, because the context is just not full enough to provide an univocal denotation.[18]

The failure of an examination of denotation of *stato* in *Il Principe* to reveal what Machiavelli was doing to the word suggests that we next search syntax for a clue. In effect there are about seven occurrences of *stato* as the subject of an active verb in *Il Principe*. Eleven times as often as this—about 70 per cent of all its appearances in a political context—it is either the object of an active verb or the subject of a passive one. Syntactically, therefore, *stato* is not up to much in *Il Principe*. If *lo stato* is not doing much, what is being done to it? It is not being worked for, or helped, or served, or revered, or admired, or feared, or loved, as Chiapelli's *stato* "in its full maturity" would be worked for, helped, served, revered, admired, feared, and loved in the twentieth century—not once, not ever. Time after time it is being added to, assaulted, disarmed, won, injured, occupied, possessed, conceded, seized, taken, regained, had, and most often of all acquired, held, kept, lost, and taken away. Indeed, *lo stato* never acquires, holds, keeps, loses, or takes anything from anyone, but on a reasonable rather than a strictly grammatical construction of its situation, in about half its occurrences someone is acquir-

[16] Fredi Chiapelli, *Studi sul linguagio del Machiavelli* (Florence, 1952). For a fuller discussion of Chiapelli's method, see Hexter, *"Il principe,"* 135–37.

[17] Chiapelli, *Studi*, 59–73, esp. 68.

[18] See examples in Hexter, *"Il principe,"* 137.

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ing, holding, keeping, and losing *lo stato* or having it taken away from him. If we go further and examine the occurrences of *stato* where it is in less immediate syntactical relation to a verb, nothing happens to alter the impression left by the peculiar verbs with which it ordinarily keeps company and the peculiar way in which that company is kept. Whatever Machiavelli meant to denote by *stato* (on this point the evidence is most ambiguous), in *Il Principe, lo stato* is what is politically up for grabs. And it is nothing more than what is up for grabs. It therefore lacks at least one important dimension of what Chiapelli calls "the state in its full maturity with its fundamental political, territorial, and national implications." *Lo stato* is no body politic; it is not the people politically organized, the political expression of their nature and character and aspirations, their virtues and their defects. Rather it is an inert lump, and whatever vicarious vitality it displays is infused into it not by the people, but by the prince who gets it, holds it, keeps it, and aims not to lose it or have it taken away. Our investigation has led us to a curious conclusion. In *Il Principe* Machiavelli has not stretched *stato;* he has shrunk it. He has drained away most of its medieval social meanings and has not given it its modern political amplitude.

What implications this devitalization of *stato* has for the fabric of imperatives we will try to discern shortly. At the moment we want to explore another linguistic corridor: what might be called motif-word magnetism. Common sense suggests that when a sense shift like the one in *stato* occurs it ought to pull the sense of other words with it. In the case of *Il Principe* the word that immediately recommends itself for a test of *lo stato*'s magnetism is *virtù*. Machiavelli's use of the term *virtù* exercised a kind of fascination for a considerable number of persons in the twentieth century interested in politics as idea or act. Before the First World War a number of Germans wrote extensively about Machiavelli's concept *virtù,*[19] and between the wars Italians whose stomachs or whose eyes to the main chance were stronger than their political prescience saw the modern embodiment of Machiavelli's *virtù* in the posturing lantern-jawed bully and charlatan who unfortunately for them ended dangling head down from the end of a rope in Milan.[20]

Nevertheless *virtù* is not what *Il Principe* is mainly about. As the alternative titles, *Il Principe* and *De Principatibus, De Principati* or *De Principe,*[21] that he gave his little book indicate, Machiavelli thought it was about princes

[19] Friedrich Meinecke, *Machiavellism,* tr. Douglas Scott (New Haven, Conn., 1957), 31–44; E. W. Mayer, *Machiavellis Geschichtsauffassung und sein Begriff "Virtù"* (Munich, 1912).

[20] Ercole, *La Politica,* 5–64.

[21] Machiavelli, *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio,* Bk. II, Chap. 1: reference to *nostro trattato de principati;* Bk. II, Chap. XLII: reference to *nostro trattato de Principe.*

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and *principati*. And a *principato* is a species of *stato;* about *stato* we already know something. On a gross count *virtù* occurs about two-thirds as often as *stato* in *Il Principe*.[22] And while *stato* or *principato* fail to show up in only one chapter of *Il Principe*,[23] on the other hand *virtù* is missing from over a quarter of the chapters.[24] More than this, *virtù* is not always necessary to a prince for getting or even keeping a *stato,* while qualities intentionally distinguished from *virtù—industria, prudenzia, astuzia, scelleratezza;* industry, prudence, craft, even orneriness[25]—also come in handy. And when one subjects the denotations of *virtù* and its derivatives in *Il Principe* to the dreary rigors of linguistic analysis, they turn out to be as perplexing as the denotations of *stato,* but in a different way. In most cases they are not particularly ambiguous or hard to ascertain. But they are rich in variety and very poor in novelty. Machiavelli does not use the term with any signification different from those of *virtus* in classical Latin. More than this, in the half century before Machiavelli wrote *Il Principe* the English used their cognate term "virtue," and the French used theirs, *virtu,* with every denotation *virtù* has in *Il Principe*.[26] This does not mean that there is nothing especially worthy of note about the way Machiavelli used the term. It does mean that once again the mere listing of denotation is a dead end.

The first useful thing to note about *virtù* in *Il Principe* is that it tends to occur in thick clots: of its seventy occurrences, forty-five (a little short of two-thirds) appear in less than one-fourth of the chapters of the book. Moreover, the chapters in which *virtù* shows up with high frequency themselves form a couple of clusters: Chapters VI–VIII, Chapters XII and XIII, and off alone at the very end, Chapter XXVI. We start with that last chapter and its famous appeal for union among Italians to end the barbarian domination, which "stinks in the nostrils of every man." In that chapter half the time *virtù* is not the *virtù* of the prince but that of the Italian soldiers. It refers unmistakably to their fighting quality, their valor. The whole point of the chapter is that all Italy needs is a military leader as valiant—with as much *virtù*—as its soldiery, and that the time is propitious for such a leader to come forward. The next cluster to consider is the ten occurrences in Chapters XII and XIII. But those chapters deal with military problems specifically and exclusively. Probably

[22] *Stato* appears 115 times, *virtù* and its adjectival and adverbial forms 70. The discrepancy is the more marked since, for Machiavelli, *stato* had no adjectival or adverbial forms.

[23] Machiavelli, *Il Principe,* Chap. XXV.

[24] *Ibid.,* Chaps. II, V, X, XVIII, XX, XXII, XXIII.

[25] *Ibid.,* Chaps. II, III (*industria*), Chap. III (*prudenzia*), Chap. IX (*astuzia*), Chap. VIII (*scelleratezza*).

[26] For Latin, see Forcellini's *Lexicon* and Du Cange's *Glossarium;* for English, the *Oxford English Dictionary;* for French, the dictionaries of Godefroy and La Curne de St. Palaye.

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in all ten occurrences, certainly in nine out of ten, *virtù* refers to soldierly qualities, sometimes of kinds of soldiers (auxiliaries), sometimes of peoples (the Venetians, the Romans, the Goths), and sometimes of military commanders.

And now as to the largest cluster of all: nearly two-fifths of the *virtùs* in *Il Principe* show up in Chapters VI–VIII,[27] that is, in about one-eighth of the chapters and one-sixth of the book. It is this section above all that has provided the material for the more elaborate fantasies that have enveloped *Il Principe*. To put these chapters in perspective, they treat of new principalities, one of the five types into which Machiavelli divides *principati:* hereditary, mixed, new, ecclesiastical, civil. To get hold of *lo stato,* of what was politically up for grabs in a country, a new prince had to have an army of his own or someone else's, or craft, or villainy, or luck (*fortuna*), or *virtù,* or some combination of these. But once having acquired a *stato* the only secure way to keep it was with an army of one's own and with *virtù,* that is the capacities and qualities, the valor or prowess, needed to keep the *stato* and command the army. If a prince had "lucked" into rule or got there by using someone else's army, then he had particular need of *virtù* to hack through the difficulties of holding onto a *stato* so acquired. Thus with Savonarola in mind, who had the *stato* of Florence in hand but for lack of prowess and an army lost it, Machiavelli says contemptuously "profeti disarmati ruinorno" (prophets without arms go down in ruin).[28] This seems to be about the residue of the *mystique* of *virtù* so dear to the heart of Machiavelli worshipers of a later day. Virtù usually refers to that cluster of qualities which makes a military commander successful, whether on the offensive—taking—or on the defensive—keeping. This is not, however, quite all that needs to be said about *virtù* in *Il Principe*.

Whatever else it may be, *Il Principe* is a book written early in the sixteenth century about ruling. In that age men who wrote such books always instructed the ruler on the *virtus* or *virtutes,* or the *vertu* or *vertus,* or the virtue or virtues, or the *virtù* he ought to have. In these treatises there is no disharmony between the significances of *virtù*. In a military or political context *virtù* is still suffused with the aura of moral qualities or goodness, and it recurs again and again in a clearly moral sense in the wearisome lists of virtues that the prince is admonished to possess himself of. In *Il Principe,* however, *virtù* appears unmistakably and unambiguously in the sense of the moral qualities and personal goodness of the ruler only thrice,[29] that is, once

[27] Twenty-seven occurrences equaling 38 per cent.
[28] Machiavelli, *Il Principe,* Chap. VII.
[29] Once *ibid.,* Chap. XV, twice *ibid.,* Chap. XVI.

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out of every twenty-three times that Machiavelli uses the term. The disjunction of *virtù* in the sense of moral qualities from *virtù* in its other senses is sharp and decisive; there is no continuity or overlay between the former sense and the others. The way in which Machiavelli marks the disjunction is especially significant. In effect when he talks of the *virtù* that a prince needs if he is to hold onto a *stato,* or get more of it, or not lose it, he is never talking about moral virtues or goodness. And this is evident from the fact that on each of *virtù*'s rare appearances in this very common sense of moral qualities, it is accompanied by an admonition to the prince that for his own good he had better avoid it or by the observation that only a lucky prince can get away with it, while without *virtù* in the other sense a prince cannot hold a new *stato,* no matter how he acquires it. In thus driving a wedge between the *virtù* the prince could not get along without and the *virtù* he could not get along with, Machiavelli did more than strain the contemporary fabric of political imperatives; he contemptuously swept much of it aside as useless for the guidance of human action.

And now we can answer our question about the magnetic pull of *lo stato.* In *Il Principe,* Machiavelli's preoccupation with how to acquire *lo stato,* how to keep it, hold it, and avoid losing it has violently modified the accustomed orbit of *virtù* in the political universe. Not only has half that orbit disappeared, but it is the half that then lay and still lies in the realm of universal ethical imperatives. The impulsions to which *virtù* responds in *Il Principe* emanate from *lo stato* and the military and political means necessary to its appropriation and exploitation.

Of all value-bearing modifiers the most general and all-encompassing are the family, good-well, bad-ill, or in Italian, *buono-bene, malo-male.* One would expect the sort of magnetic force that *stato* exercised on *virtù* also to affect this wide-span group of words in *Il Principe.* Again a mere listing of denotation proves useless. The whole gamut of denotations is there from the neutral emphatic function of denoting "really" or "indeed"[30] to the notion of a universal good, *bene alla università delle uomini.*[31] It is when we try to find out who the good in *Il Principe* is good for and who the ill is ill for that we note a replication of that somewhat terrifying shift in the object of words of ethical specification which we have already found in *virtù.* The good refers to the common good or general welfare twice and to what we might call civic goodness or merit five times. In contrast forty-three times what is good or bad is simply good or bad for the prince, to his advantage

[30] *Ibid.,* Chap. xvi.
[31] *Ibid.,* Chap. xxvi.

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or to his disadvantage. What was to his advantage and therefore good was to be able to acquire a *stato,* or more *stato* (*più stato*), to build it, to keep it, to defend it, to occupy it, possess it, seize it, take it. What was disadvantageous and therefore bad was to lose *stato,* have it taken away. In these instances to ask whether what the prince did was good or bad for anyone else—the people, say, or even the state in its present-day sense—is a mere irrelevance. When Machiavelli capitulated to his own need to *ragionare dello stato* in *Il Principe,* he was not concerned to "talk sensibly" about what was good or bad for anyone but the prince.

Buono-bene-malo-male also appear in the sense of "morally right" or "morally wrong" in *Il Principe.* And here their verbal orbit is precisely symmetrical with that of *virtù.* In almost every instance they appear in this sense only when Machiavelli is taking pains to point out that to get *stato* and keep or increase it a prince must look as good as he can and be as bad as he needs. By its magnetic force *stato* has here altered the orbit of the most ordinary of all words used for discriminating between right and wrong.

In the light of the foregoing examination of some of the operations Machiavelli performed on the loom of language in *Il Principe,* it seems to me that the conclusion I arrived at some years ago when I merely considered *lo stato* holds up fairly well. "In *Il Principe* there is no justification for the relation of the prince to *lo stato.* There can be none because *lo stato* is not a matrix of values, a body politic; it is an instrument of exploitation, the mechanism the prince uses to get what he wants. . . . If the prince exploits *lo stato* with astuteness he will keep his grip on *lo stato* and even tighten it, and will be glorified as a man of honor and praised by everyone, for, as Machiavelli says in the climactic sentences of *Il Principe,* the mob is always gulled by appearances and by the way things work out, and the mob is all there is in the world. So *si guarda al fino,* take heed of the result. The result is political success or failure. It is not right to succeed, it is not wrong to fail. It is merely success to succeed, and failure to fail. Right is not might, might is not right; might is might, and that is what *Il Principe* is about. As to right—any kind of right of the individual or of the state—that is not really what *Il Principe* is about." [32]

The relation of *Il Principe* to the fabric of political imperatives of Machiavelli's own day should by now be evident enough: it makes a shambles of it.

In England, shortly after Machiavelli wrote *Il Principe,* another worker

[32] Hexter, *"Il principe,"* 134.

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at the loom of language, Thomas More, dealt in a very peculiar way with the fabric of imperatives of his day in his greatest book, *Utopia.* His native land, which stood at the focus of More's vision and experience when he wrote *Utopia,* was one of those *stati hereditari*[33] that did not evoke Machiavelli's interest because by a rapid but inaccurate reading of the past in the light of the present he had concluded that they were easy to hold. Since in about 1514 he was getting ready to write his history of the reign of Richard III,[34] and since like most of his contemporaries in his native land he saw his own times against the background of the bloody chronicle of English kings in the fifteenth century, More knew better than that. Nevertheless he wrote *Utopia* with his mind fixed on his own land in his own time, and in the second decade of the sixteenth century England was not disturbed by the sort of political upheaval that was the milieu of *Il Principe* and that confirmed and strengthened Machiavelli's obsession with *lo stato.* What concerned More was not *lo stato* but, as the full title of *Utopia* indicated, the *status reipublicae.*[35] Between Machiavelli's *stato* and More's *status* the connection is wholly etymological. More was impelled to write *Utopia* by "the state of the nation," as we might say, or perhaps better, by the "condition of the commonweal" of England and Christendom. When he wrote of the traits that in the minds of ordinary men constituted the true worth of commonweals, he produced curious effects on the loom of language. He did so again by his way of using some of the terms ordinarily used to designate the masters of the commonwealth of England and of Christendom. Indeed because of an oddity of language, which reflects an oddity of contemporary thought, those latter terms are not, as we shall see, readily separable from the then current common notion of true worth.

These traces in words of the relation between *Utopia* and the fabric of imperatives in More's milieu when he wrote his work are easier to make out than those which Machiavelli left in the language of *Il Principe.* More did not cut away a large part of the range that a motif word had in his own day and then omit to extend that word to the range which it has today, as Machiavelli did with *lo stato.* What he did was take a cluster of words that gave a particular character to an important sector of the fabric of imperatives in his day and reverse the signs on them. From pluses he turned them into minuses; from honorific terms he transformed them into pejorative

[33] Machiavelli, *Il Principe,* Chap. II.

[34] *The History of King Richard III* (New Haven, Conn., 1963), Volume II of *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More,* ed. Sylvester, lxiii–lxv.

[35] Thomas More, *Utopia,* ed. J. H. Lupton (Oxford, Eng., 1895), facing page lxxvi, *De Optimo Reip. Statu deque nova insula Utopia libellus vero aureus*

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ones. Thus, there is no more honorable (*magis honorificum*) source of profit to the king, according to More, than penalties for disobeying laws long unenforced and forgotten "since they have the look of justice about them."[36] When it is offended, the brightest manifestation of earthly power, majesty (*majestas*), even the majesty of the highest temporal dignitary, the Holy Roman Emperor, can be salved with gold.[37] Elegance and splendor are disgraceful, the vain show of a set of foolish popinjays.[38] *Gloria* is *ostentatio,* ostentation.[39] At worst, when it is the satisfaction a ruler derives from acquiring and holding a land other than his own, it is *gloriola,*[40] petty self-satisfaction. Majesty, splendor, glory, honor—these are attributes of God or what men owe Him. But in *Utopia* they are what men with power and riches seek and demand for themselves merely as their due for possessing power and riches. They are the things of God that a host of petty Caesars claim and force men to render unto them. And in demanding such things the rulers of the earth subvert their meaning, making them literally preposterous.

More striking than the foregoing is the treatment *nobilis* and *generosus* received in *Utopia*. These two words were tightly keyed into the whole image of the cosmos by means of which for centuries most men who thought about such matters at all arrayed and ordered vast tracts of their experience and provided them with ostensibly rational meaning. That image had two dimensions. The first dimension was the "great chain of being," the conception that in His outflow of creative love God left uncreated no kind of thing from the insensate gross earth at the bottom to the highest rational spirits, the angels, at the top.[41] The cosmos then was scaled from top to bottom, from highest to lowest, from best to least good; it was shot through with a conception of graded worth. The other dimension was the conception of correspondences.[42] The best-known correspondences perhaps are those among the human body, the body of the family, the body politic, and the body, so to speak, of the cosmos itself, with the head, the father, the king, and the sun paramount in each. Parallels ran horizontally between corresponding levels of each genus of entities. The effect, it would seem, of this mode of perception would be to diminish precision and clarity of specific observation, at once to enrich and becloud the imagination, and to impart

[36] *Ibid.* (References hereafter are to Lupton's edition. Except when otherwise indicated, however, translations are modified in the light of the forthcoming Yale edition of *Utopia* referred to above.)
[37] *Ibid.*, 82.
[38] *Ibid.*, 196, 178–79.
[39] *Ibid.*, 157.
[40] *Ibid.*, 86.
[41] Arthur Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), esp. 45–51, 67–80.
[42] E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (London, 1952), 77–93.

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to certain words a massiveness of connotation and of implication of worth or merit that we can only with difficulty grasp.

Nobilis, generosus, and their equivalents in the various languages of Europe were words possessing this massive quality in a pre-eminent degree. They were indicators of high status in a world where status was a fundamental assumption rather than a recent discovery of sociologists. They were also symbols of merit, and through the process of correspondences the notion of merit was firmly fixed to the notion of status. There were noble men and base men as there were noble metals and base metals. Scarcely a half year before Thomas More began to write *Utopia,* a French contemporary gave perfect and naïve expression to this cultural stereotype, expression the more notable because the author was not otherwise a particularly naïve man. In *La Monarchie de France* Claude Seyssel discusses the favor the crown owed to the noblesse over the other orders of society. Other things being equal or perhaps just a trifle less than equal, Seyssel justifies that favor because the nobility is more *digne,* more worthy than the well-to-do or the common people and because "ils sont de meilleur étoffe" (they are made of better stuff).[43] This, he says, is as reason would have it. Obviously he identifies reason with the whole climate of opinion or spiritual syndrome created by the juncture of the great chain of being with the parallel ladders of correspondence. Under such circumstances to change the signs on *generosus* and *nobilis* implies more than a downgrading of a segment of the social hierarchy; it means the displacement of a whole sector of the fabric of imperatives.

Men who were charged with or had assumed responsibility for the care of the fabric of imperatives in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance made much of the noble and the gentle in their word spinning. The older tradition excoriated the lives lived by nobles and gentlemen in the degenerate days of the current excoriator. This denunciation was a prelude to an appeal to the noble and gentle to return to the ancient or original or natural virtues of their order, forgotten or abandoned in the present degenerate age. The more recent literary ploy, a favorite of the humanist, was to raise the question of what constituted true nobility. With a degree of consensus unusual among them the humanists tended to agree that being noble was not a matter of long lineage, wealth, or great ancestry; it was rather a matter of being a man of true excellence. On examination it turns out, not too surprisingly, that the humanists' man of true excellence bears a marked likeness to the humanist ego ideal. If More had used *nobilis* or *generosus* in either of these

[43] Claude Seyssel, *La Monarchie de France,* ed. Jacques Poujol (Paris, 1961), 122–23.

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ways in *Utopia,* he would have fallen into one of two well-known literary stereotypes: that of the "defections of the estates,"[44] standard in medieval social polemics, or that of the "debate on true nobility,"[45] standard in the self-serving effusions of humanists.

In fact he did neither. In the first place *generosus* and *nobilis* never appear in a favorable context when More is referring to the cosmopolitan military elite, the aristocracy of his own day. They occur seventeen times with pejorative overtones, thrice with doubtful connotation, and just once with honorific implications.[46] And that once, *generosus* is used to describe the stoutheartedness of the citizen militia of Utopia in language that would have given joy to Machiavelli.[47]

What More was up to is clear from his speech; it is yet clearer from his silence, especially his silence in the second part of *Utopia* where he describes the best ordering of a commonweal or civil society. For in that society there are no "true" nobles or "true" gentlemen; there are no *nobiles* or *generosi* at all; there are only citizens. This is curious enough, most eccentric indeed with respect to that large sector of the current fabric of imperatives which assimilated excellence to status by blanketing both with the terms *nobilis* and *generosus*. Yet the language of Part II of *Utopia* is even more revealing and more curious if one looks at it from the vantage point provided by the English translation of the book that Ralph Robinson made in the 1550's.

Robinson lightly sprinkled Part II of that translation with the adjectives "gentle" and its cognates used in an honorific sense comportable with the contemporary fabric of imperatives. When one looks at the identical places in More's Latin original for the equivalent word *generosus* and its cognates, however, one does not find them. More had used entirely different words to designate the qualities he was praising. Thus Robinson says that King Utopus brought his new subjects to "humanity and civil gentleness," where

[44] Ruth Mohl, *The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (New York, 1933), 341–66.

[45] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke named the Governour,* ed. H. H. S. Crofts (2 vols., London, 1880), II, 26–38, and references in footnotes there.

[46] More, *Utopia,* ed. Lupton, *passim.*

	Nobilis	*Generosus*
honorific		page 258
doubtful	pages 178, 181	page 37
pejorative	pages 45, 52, 56, 146, 196, 197 (2), 251, 308	pages 47 (2), 50 (2), 52, 56, 146, 302
neutral		page 300

[47] *Ibid.,* 258.

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More had written *cultus humanitatisque perduxit.*[48] He described clemency as "the gentlest affection of our nature," but More had called it *humanissimum naturae nostrae affectum.*[49] Where Robinson translates, "Nature biddeth thee to be good and gentle to other[s but] she commandeth thee not to be cruel and ungentle to thyself," we find *bonus* and *inclementem* in More's Latin, but we find no equivalent at all for "gentle" and "ungentle."[50] A little later Robinson simply put "gently" where More put *clementer,*[51] and then wrote "gently and favorably" where More only had *indulgenter.*[52] Again where More writes of a *humanitatis ac benignitatis officium,* Robinson translates "a point of humanity and gentleness."[53] Thus one way or another Robinson equated gentility with humanity, goodness, clemency, kindliness, and benignity. More, however, had done nothing of the sort. There were abundant humanity, goodness, clemency, kindliness, and benignity in the utopian commonwealth, but More never linked any of these traits with gentility or nobility, with gentlemen or noblemen. The ascription of these qualities to ordinary men who worked with their hands in town and country ran counter to one of the most persistent of all linguistic phenomena of the English language, the movement of terms from the point where they simply designated low status or mere youth to the point where they designated some sort of moral depravity or viciousness. The carl, or "ordinary guy," became a churl, while unpleasant conduct became "churlish"; the knave, started as a young boy (a *knabe*), became a servant, and thence a rascal; the boor began as a farmer and became a gross lout; the villain came to a worse ending still, just because he stayed down on the farm working for the owner of the villa.

In one place Robinson took action the reverse of that which we have caught him in above. More had charged *nobilis, aurifex,* and *foenerator,* who did nothing or did ill to the commonwealth, with the injustice of living idly while the true supporters of society—laborers, carters, carpenters, and farmers —worked like beasts of burden. Robinson carries the charge home to the "rich goldsmith" and the "usurer," but he leaves the nobleman out.[54] The asynchronous silence of More's Latin and Robinson's English in these instances is perhaps even more significant than the tone of contempt with which the words *nobilis* and *generosus* so often ring when they do appear in

[48] *Ibid.,* 118.
[49] *Ibid.,* 158
[50] *Ibid.,* 192.
[51] *Ibid.,* 222.
[52] *Ibid.,* 232.
[53] *Ibid.,* 193. For further examples, see pages 168, 212, 220.
[54] *Ibid.,* 301. There is another possible instance of the same thing, only involving *generosus* on page 47.

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the Latin original. A view of the world that rejected the assimilation of the good to the noble and the gentle was alien to Robinson, as it was to most articulate men in the sixteenth century. He translated Part II of *Utopia,* but the idea behind it did not fully penetrate his consciousness. In his translation, quite unconsciously one suspects, he set the loom of language to work to repair the holes More had torn into the current fabric of imperatives. What was the import of that rending?

> When I consider . . . the condition of all commonwealths flourishing anywhere in the world today so help me God, I can see nothing but a kind of conspiracy of the rich aiming at their own interests under the name of the commonwealth. They devise every available way first to keep without fear whatever they have amassed . . . and second to buy as cheap as possible and exploit the labor of the poor. These become law just as soon as the rich have decreed their observance in the name of the public—that is in the name of the poor, too! [55]

In the eyes of Thomas More, who had envisaged, he believed, the conditions for the right ordering of a commonwealth the very structure of the princely commonwealths of Europe is an enormous fraud perpetrated by the rich and powerful on the poor and weak. In saying this in *Utopia,* More was impelled to set on some quite common words values opposite to those they bore among most of his contemporaries.

The immediate implication of our examination of the loom of language as it appeared in Machiavelli's *Il Principe* and More's *Utopia* is that in the years just before the Reformation Machiavelli in *Il Principe* and More in *Utopia* did indeed wreak strange havoc on the fabric of imperatives. Moreover, although they were men whose temperaments and convictions stood far apart, they wrought a similar sort of havoc in overlapping though not identical areas of the fabric. In effect they treated the language of politics each in a different way, yet each in such a way as to make clear their view that the current imperatives of politics were an exploitative swindle by means of which the possessors of power grabbed chunks of it from one another and withheld it and its advantages from those who did not possess it. No more for the English writer than for the Italian was the existing order of the human community a true *vinculum juris,* a bond of rightful law, and as long as that order remained what it was, talk about political obligation, which has been described as the central problem of politics,[56] could have very little meaning.

[55] *Ibid.,* 303–304.
[56] Alessandro Passerin d'Entrèves, *Medieval Contributions to Political Thought* (Oxford, Eng., 1939), 3.

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Our detailed inquiry into the way Machiavelli and More used a few words in *Il Principe* and *Utopia* may permit the following tentative and general conclusions about the possibilities latent in this kind of investigation.

A careful examination of the loom of language can provide solid evidence about shifts in the fabric of imperatives at least in the minds of particular writers at certain points in their lives.

The changes in words that provide this evidence vary in kind. They may be grossly conspicuous word substitutions. They may be curtailments in the current senses of a word or reversals in its value. Or they may show themselves in a word's syntactical posture and in the company it keeps with other words.

This is a monitory point, and one only hinted at in the preceding paper. The kind of probing here illustrated should not lead to indulgence in precipitate statements about changes in the entire climate of opinion of a society, statements made in haste to be repented at leisure. The relation between the sort of language shifts we have described and changes in the climate of opinion are the appropriate subject not for assumption but for painstaking investigation.[57]

Most historians tend to be impatient, perhaps too quickly impatient, with discussions of the general methodological implications and possibilities of a mode of historical investigation. They prefer to hear in detail what follows in a particular case. What follows in the particular case of the foregoing study of the language of *Il Principe* and *Utopia?* In relation to the fabric of imperatives both Machiavelli and More were of the group of men we have described as maintenance specialists. The effect of their books, however, was

[57] How these very tentative remarks will strike investigators working in relevant and related areas of the linguistic sciences and how this investigation relates to those conducted in those sciences, I do not know. I was warned by the reader of an early draft of this paper that it would appear naïve if it made no reference to parallel studies by students of historical linguistics. Because, however, I had read no such works, nor indeed any work at all on linguistics, when I wrote the paper, the warning has not been heeded. Since then, I have studied the subject a bit, but a little knowledge is a dangerous thing, especially dangerous to him who is rash enough to display it before those who possess a great deal of it; thus my recently acquired dim light will remain judiciously hidden under a bushel. One particular point about method, however, may appropriately be made. The metaphor of the loom of language and the fabric of imperatives is strictly *ad hoc,* for the particular task to which this paper addresses itself, and it is not fully elaborated. It may or may not be worth such elaboration, and it may overlap or even duplicate kinds of concepts or imagery already used in linguistics. In the various areas of human inquiry there are times for conceptual rigor and times for a certain imaginative looseness, times when premature precision may reduce a whole area to sterility. My little reading has persuaded me that the area of linguistics on which this paper touches is of the latter kind. An undue zeal for scientific rigor in hypothesizing in that area at this point might seriously hamper investigation, as the attempt to subject them to the rigor of Galilean mechanics hampered the life sciences in the seventeenth century. This of course in no way should license any but the most meticulous accuracy in the testing and use of *historical* data.

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not to reinforce, to mend, or to adjust that part of the fabric which was their immediate concern; it was to destroy it. In very different ways the language of *Il Principe* and that of *Utopia* express a common sense of the condition of things and a common spiritual malaise. They express alienation. This alienation is of course in some measure personal to Machiavelli and More, but in their view their personal alienation was but an image of alienation, cleavage, disjunction in the world they lived in. For Machiavelli that disjunction lay between the fabric of political imperatives and the conditions of effective political action. For fools who took them seriously such imperatives lit the way to death or defeat. For the shrewd and bold, who used them to gull the mob, they were means to get, hold, or increase *stato*—whatever prizes were about for the taking in the region of politics.[58] They certainly did not provide a viable set of rules to give legitimate order to and guide men in their doings in that region. In sum they were a swindle; the language of *Il Principe* makes it clear enough that Machiavelli considered them a swindle. In the same way the language of *Utopia* makes it clear that More regarded the imperatives supposed to legitimate the position of those who dominated the social order in his world a swindle. It might be argued that the language of More and Machiavelli betrays an alienation from the areas of the contemporary fabric of imperatives to which it relates more radical than that of Luther to the religious imperatives of the same age.

A year after the publication of *Utopia,* however, Luther's alienation set in train the events that shortly wrought a violent, long, and shattering upheaval —a great revolution—in the Western world. What did the alienations of Machiavelli and More wreak? What followed directly from their onslaughts on the fabric of imperatives? Nothing or almost nothing. And for this there was good reason. To believe *Il Principe,* men must believe that the repository of the ultimate earthly power to which they are subject is merely the passive prize of a game in which they may take part or not as they will. They must also believe that unless they are willing to carry a frightful handicap they can only play the game by cutting clear away from the fabric of imperatives. Such a view was too radical, the alienation it embodied too absolute to be acceptable to Machiavelli's contemporaries; indeed as is evident in certain chapters of the *Discorsi,* it was too radical for Machiavelli himself.[59] More's alienation as expressed and discussed in *Utopia* was even larger in its scope than Machiavelli's, involving a greater area of the fabric of imperatives, encompassing the whole *status reipublicae,* or, as we would say, the entire

[58] Machiavelli, *Il Principe,* Chap. XVIII.
[59] Esp. *id., Discorsi,* Bk. I, Chaps. IX, X.

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political, economic, and social order. Nor was More ready to let it go at that, and like Machiavelli simply to investigate the qualities and stratagems useful for the exploitation of the chances for aggrandizement which that order and its fraudulent fabric of imperatives made available. Instead More presented an alternative fabric of imperatives, an *optimus status reipublicae,* in which the means of alienation in his own society—money, private property, inequality, and the fabric of imperatives that support them and that they support—would not exist. In such a commonweal his own alienation—he calls it a prison[60]—would end, and so would the alienation—he calls it worse than bondage[61]—of almost all humankind. But how are men to pass from this world of alienation and bondage to that world of reconciliation and freedom? To this question More gives no answer, but only tells a tale of Utopus, a king who never was, who seventeen hundred years ago brought this blessed consummation to Utopia, a land that never was. *Utopia* is literally nowhere.[62]

For more than three hundred years *Il Principe* and *Utopia,* two of the most radical repudiations and two of the most drastic onslaughts on the fabric of imperatives of Western men, two of the most powerful images of the alienation which that fabric engendered, stood isolated and separated at the threshold of the modern age. Separated because no imagination emerged powerful enough to bind together and reduce to a mutual coherence the nightmare of the Florentine official and the daydream of the English humanist.

Only in the 1830's and 1840's did some Europeans, new prophets of a new age, grasp the possibilities latent in the visions of Machiavelli and More. Property was theft; the state was the supreme instrument of exploitation. Together they brought about that alienation of man from his true nature which was the sum of human history. But if the state was merely a means of exploitation, a weapon in the warfare which those who had forever waged against those who had not, then it was for the exploited and alienated to seize the weapon and destroy it or use it to destroy the means of their alienation: private ownership and the system of buying and selling for money which maintained it. By means appropriate to that totally alienated man, Machiavelli's prince, the totally alienated class, the exploited and dispossessed, were to grasp *lo stato,* and through the exploitation of the exploiter, uproot alienation itself, thereby clearing the way for the restoration of men to the

[60] Desiderius Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum,* ed. P. A. Allen *et al.* (12 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1906–58), II, no. 499, line 60.

[61] More, *Utopia,* ed. Lupton, 141.

[62] "Nowhere" (Lat. *Nusquama*) is, of course, the meaning of the Greek name for the island—Utopia.

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family of man, the classless society, utopia. The link between the Machiavellian actuality and the utopian dream was not a mythical King Utopus; it was class war, seizure of power, revolution.[63] But in the second decade of the sixteenth century, the secular *kairos,* the ripeness of time, which was to bring into the arena of action the alienation for which Machiavelli and More in their divergent ways found words, was hundreds of years off. In the meantime *Il Principe* and *Utopia* retained a high level of intellectual visibility; people did not forget them. But men have ways of dealing with inconvenient, wide-eyed, small boys who shout in the street, "The Emperor is wearing no clothes!" They called *Il Principe* wicked and *Utopia* a mere fantasy. And this may have been as sensible a way of dealing with them as any. At least, since men a hundred-odd years ago discovered means of fusing the visions these little books contained, nothing has happened that demands that we believe otherwise.

[63] This potpourri of conceptions, intentionally not sorted out or made precise here, was concocted in the milieu of Paris between 1840, the publication date of Pierre Proudhon's *What Is Property?* and 1848, that of the *Communist Manifesto* of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. For brief but excellent accounts, see Isaiah Berlin, *Karl Marx* (London, 1939), 80–120, and Robert Tucker, *Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx* (Cambridge, Eng., 1961), 95–161.

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"A Restless Temper . . ."

GEORGE W. PIERSON*

IN 1954, in two international conferences under the aegis of UNESCO, a group of European intellectuals devoted themselves to the discussion of *Le Nouveau Monde et l'Europe*. Characteristically, several of the participants dropped quickly into attacks on United States civilization in its more deplorable manifestations. American materialism (our mechanization and technocracy, the gadgetry and "emptiness" of our lives), American infantilism and conformism, and the sad state of American arts were arraigned with such mordant fervor that the three Americans present, and the generous and illuminating André Maurois, must have been troubled to keep their calm.

Now and again, but without systematic connection, allusions were made to our mobility: to the *manie itinerante* which was perhaps becoming a national characteristic; to the decline of genuine regionalism under the assaults of invading students, old people, and tourists; to the mournful interchangeable towns; to the nomadism even within our cities; and to the piercing need to conform so as to obliterate an immigrant background. Only this conformity, warned Maurois, was not *immobilisme* but rather conformity to change and improvement, hence an instinct for adaptability carried to extremes. Maurois also said:

> La ville, comme la maison, est un instrument de travail. Dès que la journée active est terminée, on s'évade. Aucun peuple n'éprouve plus que celui-ci le besoin de voyager, de prendre des vacances, de se replonger dans la nature. L'état normal de l'Américain c'est le mouvement. C'est lorsqu'il part dans sa voiture avec sa femme et ses enfants, comme jadis ses ancêtres dans leur wagon de pionnier, pour quelque ranch dans le désert ou pour un campement de montagne, pour une cabane au bord d'un lac où il pourra pêcher et chasser, que l'Américain se sent vivre.[1]

Regrettably, these fragmentary perceptions were not linked together, or pursued toward a deeper understanding, as Thornton Wilder had recently tried to do, with brilliant intuition, in his Norton Lectures at Harvard.[2] By

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[1] *Le Nouveau Monde et l'Europe* (Neuvièmes Rencontres Internationales de Genève: Premières Rencontres Intellectuelles de Sao Paulo) (Neuchatel, 1955), 173 *et passim*.

[2] Thornton Wilder, "Toward an American Language," *The Atlantic*, CXC (July 1952), 29 ff.

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way of preface to his study of the peculiar language of American writers, Wilder had insisted on a certain "disequilibrium of the psyche which follows on the American condition." Specifically, "From the point of view of the European an American is nomad in relation to place, disattached in relation to time, lonely in relation to society, and insubmissive to circumstance, destiny or God." The American's relations were not with the past but with the future: his life was one of becoming (like the characters in his Bible, he had hung "suspended upon the promises of the imagination"). Again, said Wilder, the American was "differently surrounded"; for he had no fixed abode, but carried his "home" with him; his relations were not to place but "to everywhere, to everyone, and to always." The American was the independent, the lonely man. And he was still engaged in inventing what it is to be an American.

If Wilder was right that a process of invention has been going on—or if Americans have practiced any such extreme adaptiveness as Maurois referred to—then some challenging possibilities confront us. For it would appear that, consciously or unconsciously, we Americans have perhaps been engaged in reconstructing the entire gamut of relations for Western (or mobile) man! This would mean (1) new institutions patterned in part on free movement; (2) new relations with the physical environment based on a view of nature differing from the European; (3) a new concept of human fellowship or a decalogue of social conduct in some ways deviant from the Greco-Christian tradition; (4) even possibly a new attitude toward the self.

This is a large order, indeed a new order too vast to be comprehended and described, the more so as these inventions or ventures in adjustment must be still in process, and far from concluded. The new society, if such it is, has not quite crystallized out. Robert Moses to the contrary notwithstanding, it is too early for some latter-day prophet to codify the commandments of mobility, or make straight the highway for our culture.

Yet are there not signs?

By way of experiment, we might glance first perhaps at some of our *basic institutions* and ask ourselves a question. The family and the home, the city and the industrial corporation, the government whether local, state, or federal: are not all of these institutions being shaken, changed, even visibly restructured by the American habits of movement?

It can be no secret, for example, that under the strains of modern living the American family has been showing signs of coming apart. The progressive weakening of the household as an institution, the loosening of the

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ties of marriage, the seemingly casual ease of desertion and divorce, the all too obvious decline of parental authority, the quick escape of the children; clearly these derive from no one sickness, no single social cause. Yet clearly they have all been facilitated and increased by our ready mobility.

Home? We move from address to address with an almost frightening carelessness and ease. A few of us have gone so far as to put our homes on wheels for towing between trailer parks. And if finally we take off the wheels and block up our home-mobiles in someone's back yard, is it not in some sort a symbol of defeat, or at least of retirement? Meanwhile the rest of us sell and buy houses with a greater freedom than we used to rent. Wilder likes to think that we Americans have learned to take our homes with us and enjoy "making" new homes, or impressing a new apartment with our "home-making" ability. But can "home" be altogether divorced from "place"? In this grasshopper existence, have we not converted "home" into "domicile"? And are we not now faced with the disappearance of domicile? How many of us reside in the houses where our grandfathers were born, or even in the same county or state? How many maintain a family seat, which three generations have known and loved? Some of us somehow do manage to stay in one spot for the years our children are in school. Yet others do not, and the educational difficulties engendered by such restlessness are becoming notorious, not to speak of the moral losses as well.[3]

Again, within the past twenty years especially, the spectacular refusal of the young-marrieds to live any longer with parents or in-laws has produced not only skyscraper suburbs but endless villages of ranchtype or split-level houses, plastered in dreary monotony across mile on mile of once smiling countryside. Viewed from the air, or from abroad, the tents of our people cut a strange pattern. Better incomes, higher standards of privacy, and a certain restive independence on the part of the younger generation have

[3] Some of the consequences of mobility for the American "home" have been more fully developed in my essay "Under a Wandering Star," *Virginia Quarterly Review,* XXXIX (Autumn 1963), 621–38; and one or two hints of the political impact may be found in "The Moving American," *Yale Review,* XLIV (Autumn 1954), 99–112, and "The M-Factor in American History," *American Quarterly,* XIV (Summer 1962, Suppl.), 275–89. On a converging line of thought, Everett S. Lee of the University of Pennsylvania has called attention to the significance of spatial mobility for the family life, social psychology, love of change, economic development, and employment opportunities of the American experience: "The Turner Thesis Re-examined," *ibid.,* XIII (Spring 1961), 77–83. No adequate bibliography on spatial mobility can be cited, but the most interesting and effective large-scale attempt to relate mobility to the structure and history of American institutions is that of Frank Thistlethwaite in *The Great Experiment: An Introduction to the History of the American People* (New York, 1955). My own fascination with the theme goes back to the unpublished American diaries and letters of Alexis de Tocqueville (which I had the good fortune to encounter in 1928), to subsequent re-examination of Turner's frontier hypothesis, to conversations with Ellsworth Huntington, and to readings in seminal works by Pitirim Sorokin, Isaiah Bowman, Rudolf Heberle, R. H. Gabriel, A. M. Schlesinger, H. S. Commager, and Oscar Handlin.

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perhaps triggered this rush outward from our urban centers. Yet such large-scale "developments" would never have been possible but for expressways and commutation tickets, *and the habits* that make their use possible. As a rather obvious corollary, it proves hard now to give to these Levittowns any pride of place or community life of their own. As with the family and the home, no little vitality and moral force have been siphoned out of the American village or town.

At the other end of the scale, the decline of localism, the paring away of states' rights, and the steady enlargement of the sovereignty and activity of the national government have been stimulated by many strong forces, and not least by the dangers of the world situation. Yet have they not had a more than casual connection with the ever-mounting movement of people from state to state? with the long inflow of immigrants whose aim was to be Americans not Pennsylvanians or New Yorkers? with our astonishing interstate commerce and its regulation? with the siphoning of tax monies, industries, and employment from one section to another, and most recently with the channeling of defense orders into places whither the plants can be moved or where the labor and voting forces have already arrived? People have been moving too much to allow of an effective regionalism.

Looked at in the large, our empty continent was supposed to foster individualism of action and belief. And, in retrospect, space-plus-mobility may have begun with dispersion and freedom to differ, that is, with decentralization. But in the long run mobility overruns space, and the circulation and recirculation of people induces conformity. As once the nineteenth-century utopian colonists and the Mormons learned to their sorrow, wherever they could flee others could follow, and in a surprisingly short time there were no hiding places left. Nor ought there to be, in the eyes of our vigilant moralists. As once the abolitionists and Radical Reconstructionists demonstrated, and then the prohibitionists and child labor crusaders learned, and now the freedom riders have rediscovered, space-plus-mobility may begin by offering escape and freedom for peculiar institutions, but ultimately it brings on the need for federal intervention and big government. You cannot quarantine personal liberties, they say; you cannot prevent the desire for equality from crossing state lines; and you cannot forever segregate schools and public places. Why not? Because ideals speak to the heart; because free speech will carry their message across regional barriers; and finally because people are moving so much back and forth. The Bill of Rights and interstate commerce will prevent.[4] Thus, from anarchy to conformity, from home

[4] In President Kennedy's message to Congress on civil rights (as printed in the New York

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rule to centralization, has been the story. And where once the idealist might have founded a utopian colony, now he asks for a constitutional amendment.

We Americans move about so much that many of our intermediate institutions are likewise being geared directly to the expectation. Witness chapels on wheels and drive-in churches, or the circulation of ministerial talent and the growing homogenization of the Protestant believers. To speak merely of the dissenting churches, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the unprecedented American freedom of movement undoubtedly encouraged sectarianism and accelerated the splintering of congregations, but lately interdenominational communication, based on an intensified interchange both personal and intellectual, seems to be promoting consolidation. How powerfully the cooperative movement among the Protestant sects may derive from a fear of Roman Catholicism—or the ecumenical movement among all Christians from the menace of Marxism—should not be underestimated. Yet when one hears on Sunday in a village Congregation a "letter" (of transfer) read—or when twelve people stand up before the minister to be received into membership, and not one enters by confession but all twelve turn out to be communicants from other churches—at that moment the traditional substance seems to leak out of the word Congregation. And the individual church becomes merely one cell in a church universal, a standardized unit for us pilgrims, not unlike a service station for the convenience of the passers-by.[5]

If we turn next to the vast area of the American economy, the Pennsylvania Turnpikes and the New York Thruways, the Holland Tunnels and Golden Gate Bridges, Greyhounds and vista domes, the drive-it-yourself services, and the U-Hauls, and the Teamsters Unions: these may seem too practical and familiar, or too directly tied to transportation, to have any larger implications for our culture. Yet, in the impressions of a visiting Frenchman, symbolically entitled *La Grande Parade Américaine,* one might recall what was said not so very long ago about our railroads:

pour l'Européen, ce n'est qu'un moyen de transport; mais l'Américain éprouve un sentiment voisin de l'amour patriotique pour le train qui est à la fois un ami,

Times, June 20, 1963) one reads: "In a society which is increasingly mobile and in an economy which is increasingly interdependent, business establishments which serve the public—such as hotels, restaurants, theaters, stores and others—serve not only the members of their immediate communities but travelers from other states and visitors from abroad. Their goods come from all over the nation. This participation in the flow of interstate commerce has given these business establishments both increased prosperity and an increased responsibility to provide equal access and service to all citizens."

[5] A few Sundays after these lines were penned, the minister in our local Congregational Church stated that because of moving away fifteen members had left the choir within the year.

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un témoin unique, un champion aimé et un lien national. . . . Sans le chemin de fer, il n'y a pas d'Etats-Unis.

. . . les villes sont nées sur ses bords, comme en Europe le long des rives des fleuves. Cette rivière de metal amenait avec elle la vie et deposait sur ses verges des alluvions: campements, puis cités.[6]

To H.-J. Duteil, the railroads helped express the grandeur of American conceptions, and he went on to quote from Freeman Hubbard's *Railroad Avenue* . . . , the C & O prose poem:

> Listen . . . From across the sleeping countryside
> Comes the steady, rhythmic rumble of the trains,
> The great, husky trains of America.
> They've talked to you since childhood,
> They've told you, in the lonely silence of the night,
> Of far-off places, of romance and adventure!

Sadly, our own generation has had to watch the demise of the steam engine, the ossification of railroad management, and the threatened ruin by featherbedding. Those old arteries celebrated by Duteil have hardened and deteriorated. And so today it is the automobiles and planes that breathe of romance and adventure, that speak to us of distant lands, that carry the mystic numbers and the names from interstellar space: Starfire and Nova, Comet and Galaxie, Riviera and Bonneville, Constellation and Astrojet. Yet even now the threat of a national railroad strike can shake President and Congress.[7]

Going beyond transportation, let us consider for just a moment that extraordinary flat-topped do-it-yourself store which car-minded Californians sold to the nation and which recently has had our continental scholar-critics goggling and almost speechless: the SUPERMARKET. Even with its satellite shopping center, the supermarket may not be so very unprecedented in its concentration of possibilities: one senses a modernized version of Old World market squares; one is reminded of the crowded bazaars which go back to prehistory. Inside this American sales factory there is self-service, which to a European does have some revolutionary implications. But what is

[6] H.-J. Duteil, *La Grande Parade Américaine* (Paris, 1949), 55 ff.

[7] Twenty-eight years ago Philip Guedalla, in reviewing American development, ventured his celebrated declaration: "The true history of the United States is the history of transportation . . . in which the names of railroad presidents are more significant than those of Presidents of the United States." (*The Hundred Years* [London, 1936].) Then came Henry Ford; and what his system of production and his tin lizzie did to the transport, the roads, the work habits, and the lives of Americans, has become part of the American legend. Yet, as Simeon Strunsky so paradoxically observed, "the more things American change under the impact of the automobile, the more they remain American. . . . The automobile embodies a vigorous restatement of basic national principles. The automobile cannot undermine the old American way of life because it is the product of that way of life and of the spirit that shaped it. It incorporates the aims and impulses that guided our older history. The throb of its engine is the beat of the historic American tempo." (*The Living Tradition* [New York, 1939], 172.)

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it we drop into our wheeled baskets? Why, nothing special: just canned goods, bottled beverages, packaged cereals, and frozen foods—almost all with common names or standard brands. Some of the articles come from a long way off, hardly any from the immediate neighborhood, but that is an old story in the American market. We could buy these articles as well five hundred miles away. In fact we have brought them across the continent, and with time many of the newest brands will seep into the remotest settlements. Why? Because they are cheaper and better? It may be. Because the American production line, with automatic machinery, interchangeable parts, mass production, and high-pressure salesmanship in the mass media, inevitably undersells and replaces the local or regional product? Quite probably. With press and radio and television to back up *Good Housekeeping* and a Sears-Roebuck catalogue, what might one not sell?

Yet I wonder a little about local pride or prejudice, and the proverbial sectional antagonisms, not to mention ingrained habits or man's immemorial dislike of accepting things from outsiders. Did our Californians cheerfully take their steel from Pittsburgh? Did traditions of taste and individual workmanship set no limits to the spread of "Grand Rapids"? Do we really like the western Golden Delicious as well as the New England apples of our boyhood? What standard brand, I want to know, can possibly match the bite and aroma of a Broadleaf Connecticut cigar? And how did those insipid "fifteen-centers" get to New Haven in the first place? Because they were advertised and brought in by salesmen? No doubt, in due course. But first one suspects they came in men's pockets. And then they were asked for, and slowly offered, in the corner drugstores. In my book, it was sometimes the obvious superiority of the mass product that persuaded. But at other times it was the man who helped bring the article. Or, coming in from outside, and not finding what he was used to, he asked to have it brought in.[8]

So if the standard brands find their way into the remotest settlements, and soon come to dominate the lonely crossroads, may it not be in part because they are what the travelers asked for? When frozen chickens first invade the village grocery, do they not know that an old customer has already been in, or will drop in tomorrow?

[8] A few days after writing these words, I came on the story of how in 1844 the first wholesale pie factory in New England got its start. It appears that a homesick son in New York, with other New Haven lads who longed for "old-fashioned pies," gave Amos Munson back in New Haven the idea of setting up a pie factory and shipping his "Connecticut pies" via steamboat to New York. Within five years Munson's firm was producing one thousand pies a day, and the freight bills by steamboat became so large that Munson opened a plant in New York City. Eventually three of his workers "started their own pie-making factories after learning the trade. They were H. H. Olds who stayed in New Haven; Elisha Case who went to Chicago; and J. E. Perry who settled in Providence." (New Haven *Register,* Feb. 3, 1963.)

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Advertising and word of mouth are immeasurably powerful. Ideas can carry packages no less well than men. But things are surer if the man has been by, too. So our cans chase our consumers about the country—and vice versa. In a sense we are in a circular argument. Standard brands make moving from region to region less painful to the traveler, while at the same time the traveler makes it easier for standard brands to cover the whole nation. Take away the moving consumer, and the standard brand will not "move" so well either. *C'est fou? Eh bien, monsieur.* Which are your favorite chain stores in France?[9]

No doubt this seems a long way around to a simple fact, but that fact is worth pondering. Whether as cause or coincidence or consequence, mobility is built into our social economy. And if we have achieved not only a certain uniformity of speech, but a generalization of consumer taste and an agreed on vocabulary of comfort across the nation, it is because *both* men and ideas have been in almost constant motion everywhere.

One would, of course, like to know much more about the impact of mobility on our institutions. For example, what barriers are there? What happens when free mobility threatens to injure the public welfare? Obviously any government must try to impose restraints. Thus for presumed reasons of social, physical, moral, or financial health, we have restricted immigration, excluded the criminals and the diseased, imposed national origins quotas, and made movement into this country not a little unpleasant as well as far from free. The import of plants and animals into the country or across some state boundaries (for example, California) is controlled and to a degree restricted by agricultural quarantines. For like reasons there are laws against the carriage of firearms across state lines.

Taking advantage of the interstate commerce laws, the federal government has prohibited the carriage from one state to another of kidnaped persons, strikebreakers, or women or young girls for immoral purposes. The United States has also forbidden the shanghaiing of sailors, or any moving or traveling in interstate commerce to avoid prosecution, confinement after conviction, or giving testimony in a criminal case. On a lower plane, tax reasons have acted to inhibit the personal transport of alcohols into one state from another, and when the New York commuter carries city earnings into the suburbs of Connecticut or New Jersey, two states may try to tax him. Yet all this adds up to little.[10]

[9] In the matter of chain stores the British have come closer to the American practice, as they have also in personal mobility.

[10] C. Vann Woodward, to whom I owe many useful suggestions, has recalled that before the Civil War some states in the Midwest had laws prohibiting the immigration of free

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Altogether there seem to be few "cattle-guards" sunk into the boundaries of our states to keep their human herds from straying. Instead these sovereign entities find themselves helpless to block the invasion of Okies or freedom riders, to prevent the passage of strangers across their territories, or even to impede the exodus of their own citizens with their votes, their capital, and their businesses. We must conclude that the interstate commerce in persons knows few impediments. Lately the State Department has on occasion withheld passports from its own citizens, to prevent their traveling abroad, reviving that old prerogative and personal power of the kings of England which, from Magna Carta onward, John and his successors were gradually forced to surrender.[11] Yet there is something so arbitrary and tyrannical in this power that only the intense fears of Russia and China perhaps warrant its temporary exercise.

Aside from such restrictions on travel, how has mobility entered into our common or statute law? What changes has it produced in the laws governing real estate? of movable possessions? of domiciliary rights or estate taxes? It would be astonishing if even that tough and resistant mountain complex of accumulated decisions which we call the Law did not show the parallel grooves and occasional water gaps scoured by the slow drifts and sudden freshets of our population within the past two centuries. But, in all candor, I have been able to find few examples.[12] In our legislatures we even

Negroes; until 1886 South and North used different railroad gauges; and the southern freight rate structure still perpetuates the design to restrict competition. In a degree the same could be said of the basing point system in industry.

[11] In 1215 King John was forced to give up the writ of *Ne Exeat Regno* when it was stipulated that except for criminals, outlaws, alien nationals, and briefly in times of war, *liceat unicuique de cetero exire de regno nostro, et redire, salvo et secure, per terram et per aquam. . . .* Because this permission gave the clergy opportunities to appeal in person to Rome, thereby undermining the King's authority, it was omitted from the second issue of Magna Carta in 1216, and Henry III required all persons going abroad to secure a royal license or be fined. But gradually his successors found they could control or arrest only special classes, the rest presumably being free to come and go. In 1606, to accommodate the Scots, *Ne Exeat Regno* was presumably abolished, later to be taken over by the Court of Chancery to prevent parties to a suit in equity from withdrawing to a foreign land. One is reminded of our extradition of criminals, and of the piecemeal American prohibitions by the Mann Act and other legislation. (See W. S. McKechnie, *Magna Carta* [2d ed., 2 vols., New York, 1958], 473–78; P. A. Freund *et al., Constitutional Law: Cases and Other Problems* [2d ed., Boston, 1961], 390–97.) For guidance and suggestions on these legal and constitutional matters I am indebted to Dean Eugene V. Rostow and Professor Alexander M. Bickel of the Yale Law School, and to my colleagues in history, Professors William H. Dunham and Archibald S. Foord.

[12] When Hetty Green died, several states struggled ravenously for the privilege of calling her a legal resident, for in the law she could belong to but one. Will not this someday have to be changed?

In the world of farm animals (which also moved) it is instructive to observe how the English laws of fencing did have to be changed. For where the common law had required each stock raiser to enclose his animals with a legal fence, in the New World, with so much wilderness and free land available for both domesticated cattle and domesticated plants—man's animal and vegetable slaves—it soon came to seem more sensible, in fact necessary, to require

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still cling to the local residence requirements and the district delegate idea rather than shift to the more fluid "virtual representation" long practiced in England and now made possible by our automobile-airplane age.

With our Constitution and the Supreme Court, however, the matter is otherwise. What cognizance has the Supreme Court given to motion? It has struck down taxes and other impediments to interstate circulation. And clearly the equal application of the Constitution to all regions and states, whether humid or dry, whether English, French, Spanish, Indian, or African in origin or prevailing culture, constitutes an implicit assumption and endorsement of free movement. As early as the days of the founding fathers, free movement seemed necessary to the making of the nation. And in Article IV, Section 2 of the United States Constitution (as also in the Constitution of the Confederate States of America!) it was emphatically stated that "citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." The Constitution should make it safe for a man to go. Disunity through the inhibition of movement must be discouraged.

But let us shift the spotlight from institutions to a second major category: our relations with things. The elite of Europe accuse us of materialism in many forms, from a childlike delight in shiny gadgets to a willing slavery to laborsaving machinery, from engrossment with creature comforts to a worship of the almighty dollar, from an obsession with material possessions to the debasement or total neglect of the finer arts. One vivid image of the American home is that of a procession of new dishwashers, freezers, mixers, and other mechanical devices going in the front door, while out the back door comes another procession of the barely used and still serviceable machines of yesterday, on their way to the discard heap.[13] This picture says that we are rich, but also wasteful, not to say careless with our things.

Are all rich peoples so enamored of new things or so careless of the old?

farmers to put the fences around their crops. That is, the costs of fencing (and the more mobile four-footed slaves!) got the upper hand. And it was only with the disappearance of the open range in any given area that the agriculturists began to have a chance to restore the balance in their own favor. (See Earl W. Hayter, "Livestock-Fencing Conflicts in Rural America," *Agricultural History,* XXXVII [Jan. 1963], 11–20.)

[13] See Ann Hightower, "French Myths about America" in New York *Times Magazine,* Feb. 27, 1949: "take the mattress story [that in the US mattresses are thrown away every two years]. It only confirms what the Frenchman already 'knows' to be true—that the American home is a reverse assembly line to convert the products of whirring factories back to basic rubble. He still imagines a solid stream of gadgets, clothes, and household materials being delivered to the front door to be tossed out the back when slightly used. If Americans admit that there was a widespread practice of buying a new car every year and turning in the old one, no other tale is too fabulous for belief."

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The question has only to be asked in the context of the European aristocracy, or of privileged classes anywhere, to suggest that something else must be involved here besides "plenty." And I would propose that this something may lie in the American experience. As a part of that experience, traveling hither and yon, even moving his family from year to year, the American has been subjected to a bombardment of new situations, stimulated by the unexpected, taught to accept and value new things. Yet if he seems to keep chasing new possessions, it has been noticed also that his relations with the things themselves do not go very deep. In part for the very reason that he has seen so much that is new and handy and has grown used to changes and improvements, he will be quick to pick up new games and the latest fashions, yet as quick to discard them for something different or better. I find it hard to believe that a sedentary population would show any such gay abandon.

If we now bring into view that category of things we call "nature," or the physical environment, have not Americans once again proved themselves avid yet careless of their resources? On landing, our forefathers found the wild continent more terrible than beautiful: a savage wilderness to be feared, brutally fought, and mastered as the price of survival. Once conquered, however, or on the way to subjection, the continent began to fascinate both curiosity and cupidity. The novelty and sheer size of its wonders excited national pride; its wealth drew us on. Our forebears had never seen so much timber or so much virgin land. They ravaged both. Scenically, the Hudson River Palisades were but the curtain raiser to the grand landscapes of the interior. With patriotic fervor we sent foreigners to view Niagara Falls and the Great Lakes, to steamboat down the Ohio and Mississippi, to ride out over the Great Plains to the Rockies, to admire the Bad Lands and Monument Valley, perhaps, but certainly the Grand Canyon and the giant redwoods of California. We have streamed there ourselves, stopping off en route to see the falls of the Yosemite and the fumaroles of the Yellowstone.

Yet on the way, unfortunately, the face of nature soon began to show signs of dissipation or neglect. The magnificent white pine stands of Michigan were decimated; the prairie soils were so abused that they are not what they used to be; while beyond the Great Divide the ghosts of abandoned mining towns haunt the dry gulches and arroyos. Happily, it will be observed, some of the most spectacular resources have now been wrested in some part from commercial exploitation and "saved for the nation" (along with the modest sand dunes of Cape Cod). Yet this in itself is a curious grand concourse kind of salvation. At best our natural wonders we first admire, then exploit, then reluctantly turn into national parks, not to be lived

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with but to be visited with, not to become the basis for a distinct and colorful regional society but to be experienced superficially by just about everyone.[14] There is no privilege of locality, no priority for the natives. There is even very little of that intimacy with the soil, or that interdependence of man with living nature, which we call love of the land. Hence our regionalisms have been surprisingly superficial. William Faulkner and Robert Frost to the contrary notwithstanding, one encounters too rarely that feel for locality which generations of occupancy should nourish. In a sense, after 350 years in this country, we are sojourners still. (Robert Lee Frost, New England's poet laureate, was himself born in San Francisco, the son of an Indiana "copperhead," who named him after "Marse" Robert.)

Nor has the story been so different with our seasons and our climates. By dint of winter vacations and travel holidays Americans have pretty thoroughly scrambled their seasons. Even the New England Yankee and the Minnesota farmer have broken out of their winter prisons. Having, on some such journeys, encountered the stimulus of desert or mountain air, the thought then occurs of packaging it, resort fashion, for rent to later comers. At the same time Americans have learned to simulate their climates by air conditioning at home. And the denizens of a great metropolis can live for weeks together without once exposing themselves to the weather.

All this, of course, is nothing more extraordinary than the conquest of nature. And Americans take that conquest for granted. Yet, as has so often been hinted by puzzled Europeans, the American's relations with nature are neither human nor natural. For where the classical tradition had given nature a soul, and even endowed each element with a guardian spirit—a god of

[14] It is revealing to read the recent advertisement of *The American Heritage Book of Natural Wonders* (Feb. ?, 1963):

"As Robert Frost remarked recently, 'What makes a nation in the beginning is a good piece of geography.'

"That, for certain, we've had in these United States. A land so whopping big and wild and varied that even now—when we can span it in four hours, or scar its remotest corner with a beer can—it can awe and dazzle us.

"You've probably seen a lot of America, because the lovely and barrier-free country has conditioned us all to be easy travelers. And surely you have had the thrill, more than once, of imagining what it was like to be the explorer who saw some great vista for the first time—a Henry Hudson, a Captain John Smith, a Meriwether Lewis.

"View the land as they saw it (and you can still, here and there) stretching westward without end, and it is easy to comprehend why America forged a new kind of man. The primitive continent called for a new way of life, and a new point of view, that marks us all to this day.

"No doubt of it, the American land has been the anvil that has shaped a lot of your belief and character. And no doubt at all, much of the American land is a spectacular sight to see. So. . . ."

One wonders if *American Heritage* really meant to emphasize that this vast continent, without barriers, has shrunk to a mere four hours, with its beauties considerably spoiled, its natural wonders scarred by beer cans, and its grand vistas only here and there still visible. At all events, the uneasy conscience and the commercial instinct both come through.

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the sea or of the winds, a goddess of the earth or some wood nymph for the trees—to Americans, somehow, nature's elements were merely things, and things were to be mastered, exploited, manipulated. And where the hunters and tillers of old Europe had painfully worked out a kind of symbiosis, a man-land and crop-game balance of living, we upset the balance. From the first settlements the record of our conquest of the continent became one of destruction and exploitation. Somehow the settlers and their successors, the pioneers, did not really want to live with the land and cultivate its soils or make the most of its natural beauties, but rather slaughtered the wildlife, burned the forests, mined the soils, desecrated the landscape—and moved on. The story is an old one, and sad. Why take time to repeat it? Because it suggests a haunting might-have-been. Might not our pioneers have been more careful if they had had to stay put?

Today we still manipulate the physical environment in ways that would have horrified Louis XIV and even staggered the Romans. Soils are changed by chemistry, clouds seeded, distances annihilated, or the balance of nature upset by massive applications of sprayed poison. The needed snowfall for skiers a Vermonter accepts from heaven, or else manufactures with a blower. If the home golf course seems too flat and uninteresting, now that the club members have played the Mid-Ocean and Pebble Beach, the greens committee has the old terrain bulldozed into seaside shape. In a strange juxtaposition each "ranch house" for a rising young executive must now have a swimming pool. In our real-estate "developments" we first skim off the topsoil and cut down the trees; then we plant little bushes and saplings in artificial symmetry. So here again one finds us first admiring then abusing nature's varieties. We are not beholden to nature. Neither time nor place must have us in their power. All of which brings even the friendly interpreter face to face with this paradox: that the people who in many regards had the most natural environment to adapt to have yielded to it the least. Perhaps they have moved too much to let it really capture them, or they ate up space too fast to enjoy it?

In a less friendly review, it may be argued that we have become toughened by exposure, hardened to physical environment, superficial in our relations with nature as well as with things. No doubt some pretty careless or indifferent parties came here in the first place, and that might have been a substantial part of the explanation. Yet the American experience of moving and moving again has increased rather than qualified the "detachment."

Turning now to the third and fourth categories, those of his relations to

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society and to himself, we may ask: has the American really been working out a new decalogue of social conduct and human fellowship?

Thornton Wilder proposed that Americans (living separately and independently, and finding in the environment "no confirmation of their identity") may engage in a hollow gregariousness, but they only really come alive through action: "There is really only one way in which an American can feel himself to be in relation to other Americans—when he is united with them in a project, caught up in an idea and propelled with them toward the future. . . ."

Another way to describe the same uncertainties and arrive at cooperative activism is to see American social relations as essentially those of friendly strangers. Without ancestry or family tradition, without estates or credentials of place, without privileges of authority or gentility of person, each citizen necessarily has had to stand on his own feet and reciprocally accept his fellow Americans as equal integers, at face value. Knowing little or nothing about his fellows because he had not grown up with them, it seemed wise not to discount them in advance, the more so as, having just arrived in town oneself, one hoped to be accepted on equal terms. Living in an unstable community, with new faces appearing continuously and old faces disappearing before one had really come to know them, a smile had come to seem the required greeting, a handshake and perhaps a clap on the back the best welcome, and the use of first names a brotherly and quite sufficient identification.

Our intimacy with strangers can be an engaging experience, yet ultimately disillusioning, even dangerous for the foreigner. The Englishman, it has been remarked, is notoriously shy, and builds around his personal privacy all sorts of barriers and reserves of manner. The American smiles and invites you in. Yet once you have penetrated the Englishman's defenses, all his aloofness disintegrates, his reserve melts, and he takes you into his heart. Whereas with the American you find yourself only in an antechamber, and the deeper you go the harder the going, the stiffer the barriers to real intimacy.

Others have pointed out how surprised, even overwhelmed, Asian students can be by the friendly welcome of the dean or admissions officer in an American university, but how bitterly disillusioned they become when it turns out that this welcome is standard, not a personal and exclusive concern for the particular soul and body of the visiting student. Never trust a stranger!

Such misunderstandings call attention to the rather peculiar character of the "person" in this country, or at least of the work relations of one person

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with another, or of one individual and the many. It is a commonplace that we pride ourselves on our individualism, but limit it. Individualism, American style, insists on personal liberty to act, but aims at progress by competition *and* cooperation. No peonage for us. Our hero is the free individual. At the same time no man acts alone. Sooner or later even the lone wolf finds that sheer ruthlessness defeats its own ends; there are too many against him. Over here the rugged individualist learns to compromise, and to be cooperative, too—at which point he may discover how much he can get done with the help of others if he trusts them, and even how satisfying it is to be able to make his own personal "contribution."

By contrast, individualism, French style, demands recognition of a unique personality—is ever jealous and full of "moi"—instinctively suspects fellow employees and depreciates the outsider. Cooperation with the other fellow is limited. Advancement is sought by inside channels. The great slogan of the French Revolution may have been *Liberté, égalité, fraternité,* but when, by American standards, did the French ever learn the first thing about *fraternité?*

Once again, the relative equality of opportunity—the very absence of inherited privileges and established handicaps, or the ability to walk away from such containments into new and neutral communities—enlarges the field of ambition to John Doe, who soon learns that with luck he may even come to call himself Horatio Alger. In a word, lateral fluidity encourages upward mobility. Just how "open" our society still is, by comparison with what it used to be, or just what the ratio may be between lateral and vertical mobility may be questions for heated argument. What seems unarguable is the absolute necessity of much lateral movement if there is to be any appreciable vertical mobility, too. Without other places to go—and those places occupied by strangers—there would be much less opportunity and no second chance.

Altogether, I suggest, no inconsiderable fraction of today's social and economic life can be understood better if it is seen as geared to the stubborn fact that the average American must live and work among a quasi-anonymous and constantly shifting population. Ask how a stranger might introduce himself and protect himself among fellow strangers, and how he might then employ himself, enrich himself, amuse himself, or organize his social occasions, and one will come surprisingly close to some American norms. (In such communities, for example, will charity be interpersonal, spasmodic, and secretive, or cooperative, regularized, and publicly conducted as through some community drive?)

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All this will seem commonplace, yet immensely confusing. Is movement cause or consequence or merely coincidence? It may be one or the other or even all three. Is movement coherent in its action and uniform in its results? Anything but. It is full of paradoxes and contradictions, confusions and uncertainties. There are many motives for moving and many kinds of movers and of movement, and at best they overlap rather than coincide.[15] Nor are all our movements, put together, sufficient to explain American peculiarities. Far from it. Freedom of movement is but one freedom; it takes many others to make a free society. Yet let us not make the contrary mistake of regarding free movement as merely neutral. It may either heal or hurt, atomize or restructure our civilization. Rarely is it just coincidental. Every day of our lives it affects you and me.

Perhaps most important of all, let us note that mobility is *not new,* not an accident nor a temporary state of affairs. As demonstrated by much of the evidence already cited, this moving business, in most of its forms, has been going on here for a long time. Movement has always been a major ligament in our culture, knit into the bone and sinew of that body of experiences which we call our history.

Thus in the field of transportation, we may be now perhaps just past the peak of the automobile age. But before that was the age of steam, of the railroad and the paddle-wheeler, and before that the day of canalboat and prairie schooner, and before that the generations of stagecoach and wilderness trail.

As for personal movement, looking backward we can see that in the nineteenth century the westward movement provided a spectacular (though not unique) series of experiments in displacement. For a little more than a hundred years the rough-and-ready frontiersmen, the leapfrogging pioneers, the land speculators and backwoods evangelists kept surging relentlessly toward the westward horizons.[16] The expedition of Lewis and Clark, the great Mormon migration, the sudden rushes of the forty-niners or the Sooners into Indian Territory, the sifting of voters across state lines in the battle for Kansas, the Conestoga wagons and the barges drifting down river, the ox trains and pony express—all these played a part not only in the conquest of the continent but in the forging of an "American" character.

[15] See Pierson, "The M-Factor in American History," and "Under a Wandering Star."

[16] In "The Turner Thesis Re-examined," 80, 83, Lee makes the point that the true safety valve was not the frontier but migration, while Turner's frontier theory was but "a special case of an as yet undeveloped migration theory." I find myself in substantial agreement with this suggestion.

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Yet even before the Erie Canal had been dug or the Mississippi had been reached Europeans were commenting on a psychology that owed much to movement: on our friendliness and hospitality, our casual informality and lack of deference, our inquisitiveness and our helpfulness with strangers. Already our feverish restlessness and activity, our boastfulness and psychological insecurity, our mental and emotional instability were a familiar story, noticed by foreigners, commented upon by many. And even those who never caught the frontier itch showed a predilection for mobility. They would not stay put.

The moving of houses awed the Swedish observer, Mr. Klinkowström: "What is it that Americans will not try?"[17] The record shows that we tried moving churches and whole towns; schools, colleges, and "universities"; museums, libraries, and judges; printing presses, newspapers, and factories up and down the country and into the Mississippi Basin. Where other nations had known their little people of the roads—their vagabonds and beggars, their gypsies and strolling players, their friars and minstrels, their tinkers and knife grinders—the Americans developed not merely their fur traders and pioneers, their land scouts and timber cruisers, and their soldier-explorers and their geologist-surveyors, but their frontier lawyers and territorial politicians, their circuit riding teachers and preachers, their Yankee peddlers and traveling salesmen, their lyceum lecturers and the whole Chautauqua movement.

More than a century ago Domingo Sarmiento, the South American reformer and statesman, noticed particularly our Yankee propensity for travel:

> The large number of passengers reduces the cost of the fares and low fares in turn tempt people to travel, even though they have no precise object in view. The Yankee leaves home to enjoy a change of air, or just to take a trip, and he travels a hundred and fifty miles by steamboat or train before returning to his work.

Sarmiento even went so far as to see a connection between travel and other peculiarities of American civilization, in particular our "monstrous hotels," our appalling eating habits, and the explosion of the American population. A little mischievously he noted that it was the custom for young honeymooners "to take the next train to parade their happiness through woods, towns, cities, and hotels. In the coaches these enchanting couples of twenty summers are to be seen in close embrace, reclining very affectionately against one another to the edification of all the travelers." Hence two effects. All the

[17] F. D. Scott, "Mr. Klinkowström's America," *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly,* III (Winter 1952), 1–16.

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crusty old bachelors decided to get married: the birth rate became phenomenal. And ". . . I attribute to these ambulant amours in which American flirting ends, the mania for travel which is so characteristic of the Yankee that he is called a born traveler. The rage for traveling is increasing year by year."[18]

Thus, already by the 1840's we were exploring the sensations of peregrination and enjoying them with ill-concealed enthusiasm. Yet if a twentieth-century American should wish to assure himself that mobility had always been a large and meaningful factor in the American way of life and in the making of the American character, he could do no better than to consult our most discerning judge and commentator, Alexis de Tocqueville.

Tocqueville was astonished by our propensity for movement, by the stagecoaches that went everywhere at breakneck speed over bone-breaking roads, by the phlegmatic way in which Americans took the hardships of travel, and by the extraordinary sight of Americans building roads into the wilderness even ahead of their settlers. While traveling through backwoods Tennessee, Tocqueville got to speculating about some of the effects of such movement for the economy and arrived at the by no means inconsiderable discovery that volume of communications and speed of interchange (that is, turnover) had perhaps as much to do with prosperity as anything else.[19]

Again, on his nine months' journey through the country Tocqueville noted how the English Puritans had planted their institutions and their faith in New England, and how the Connecticut Yankees had then sent their lawmakers, their teachers, and their clocks across the continent. Yet in the process the laws changed, the institutions became simpler, more democratic, and freer from ancestral prejudices. The destruction was piecemeal and not complete: it took at least three migrations to destroy or renovate an old English law. But necessarily, he suggested, there was much loss of ancestral baggage on the march. It was almost as if he had said that Europeans could become Americans only by repeatedly moving.

Once again Tocqueville noted the beneficial effects of the continent and of movement in assuring political stability and in preventing revolution. Why were there not more political plots and conspiracies? And how could the state survive, being so weak? Because there was so much land, because careers were all open, because there were so many other avenues to power than the channel of politics, because younger sons could go west, because the

[18] "The United States in 1847," *A Sarmiento Anthology*, tr. S. E. Crummon and ed. A. W. Bunkley (Princeton, N. J., 1948), esp. 209–17.

[19] G. W. Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* (New York, 1938), 189, 192–93, 239–40, 286, 573, 579, 589–92. For subsequent references, see 370, 399, 420, 440, 567–69, 602.

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frontier was a safety valve for the adventurous and the irresponsible as well as for the ambitious.

Notwithstanding all these advantages and opportunities, the Americans seemed to Tocqueville at once feverish and sad. And in a striking chapter in his *Democracy in America* he finally asked himself "Why the Americans are so restless in the midst of their prosperity."

> In the United States a man builds a house in which to spend his old age, and he sells it before the roof is on; he plants a garden and lets it just as the trees are coming into bearing; he brings a field into tillage and leaves other men to gather the crops; he embraces a profession and gives it up; he settles in a place, which he soon afterwards leaves to carry his changeable longings elsewhere. . . . Death at length overtakes him, but it is before he is weary of his bootless chase of that complete felicity which forever escapes him.[20]

How account for this strange unrest of so many "happy" men? The taste for physical gratifications, and the hurry to enjoy them because of the shortness of life, seemed to Tocqueville one obvious source. A social condition in which neither laws nor custom retained any person in his place was a great additional stimulant to this restlessness. Still a third was the "equality of conditions" and opportunity, which engendered a feverish competition and ambitions never quite satisfied.

Such passages are informative and suggestive, not least of our physical instability. Yet if one were to seek even sharper insights into what Tocqueville called the "national character" of the Americans, one should read again the intuitions that he confided to his diary, after only a month in America (June 7, 1831), and before he had seen the frontier, or talked to J. Q. Adams about the West, or come to attribute too much to an all-pervasive egalitarian *démocratie*.

> A restless temper (l'inquiétude du caractère) seems to me one of the distinctive traits of this people. . . . We have been told that the same man has often tried ten estates. He has appeared successively as merchant, lawyer, doctor, minister of the gospel. He has lived in twenty different places and nowhere found ties to detain him. And how should it be otherwise? In a word, here man has no settled habits, and the scene before his eyes prevents his adopting any. (1) Many have come from Europe, leaving their customs and traditions behind. (2) Even those long established in the country have preserved this difference. There are no American *moeurs* as yet. Each accepts what he likes from the group, but remains a law unto himself. Here the laws vary continuously, magistrates succeed each other, nature itself changes more rapidly than man. Through a singular inversion of the usual order of things, it's nature that appears to change, while man stays immovable. The same man has given his name to a wilderness that none before him had traversed, has seen the first forest tree fall and the first planter's house

[20] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* III, Chap. XIII; I used the Phillips Bradley ed. (2 vols., New York, 1945), II, 136–37.

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rise in the solitude, where a community came to group itself, a village grew, and to-day a vast city stretches. In the short space between death and birth he has been present at all these changes, and a thousand others have been able to do the same. In his youth he has lived among nations which no longer exist except in history. In his life-time rivers have changed their courses or diminished their flow, the very climate is other than he knew it, and all that is to him but the first step in a limitless career. . . .

Born often under another sky, placed in the middle of an always moving scene, himself driven by the irresistible torrent which draws all about him, the American has no time to tie himself to anything, he grows accustomed only to change, and ends by regarding it as the natural state of man.[21]

May we not deduce that what we feel today our grandfathers and their grandfathers felt before us? We have been pilgrims and pioneers from the beginnings; we were and still are restless almost beyond measure. Has this been a superficial trait? Hardly. Has it done something considerable to shape the American character and society? No matter how uncertain we may feel about the precise character of the results, I do not see how one can question this. Perhaps the strongest effect has been our very unsettlement: our culture of endless change. In 1831 Tocqueville said there were "no American *moeurs* as yet"—while Wilder in 1952 thought we were still engaged in inventing what it is to be an American!

In any reading, what remains inescapable is this: mobility has been one of the oldest and most continuous themes of the American experience, and its meaning is still to be fully understood.

Of course movement, restlessness, and change are not unique to Americans. And the conquests of time and of space: these are not American inventions but the conquests of modern man. Perhaps all we ought to say, therefore, is that in this movement, and in their relations with time and space, Americans have been ahead of Europeans: the first modern automobiles? Americanism, after all, can be in part just a matter of timing: for example, a society behind in the arts but ahead in its gadgets.

Yet does one not feel just a little uneasy about the adequacy of such an explanation? The mobility that America has today, Europe will have tomorrow? Not quite. For it is hard to escape the conviction that somehow, for some strange reason, Americans have had a special affinity for mobility, have known it, used it, enjoyed it, and suffered its agonies, with a devotion

[21] Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America,* 118–19. The original text has now been established and printed, with variations and some slight differences of sentence order and paragraphing, by J.-P. Mayer [and A. Jardin] in Alexis de Tocqueville, *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1957), V, *Voyages en Sicile et aux Etats-Unis,* 208–209. Cf. the new translation by George Lawrence, in Alexis de Tocqueville, *Journey to America,* ed. J.-P. Mayer (New Haven, Conn., 1960), 182–83.

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and an intimacy no other people has experienced. We are, and will remain, a more fluid society. In times past we have been so swept along in the vast currents of movement that we have taken movement itself for granted. Now it is in our institutions and our economy, in our actions and our attitudes, in our expectations, in our bones. As Tocqueville so shrewdly observed 133 years ago, *a restless temper seems to me one of the distinctive traits of this people.*

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Coal for the Fleet That Had to Die

LAMAR J. R. CECIL*

THE surprise attack by the Japanese Navy against the Russian installations at Port Arthur during the night of February 8–9, 1904, was the act that precipitated the Russo-Japanese War. Admiral Heihachiro Togo at once ordered men-of-war drawn up offshore to blockade the Tsar's Asian Fleet, which was anchored in the harbor. In April and again in August, the Asian Fleet attempted to run Togo's lines, but was repulsed. Japanese armies moved onto the Liaotung Peninsula north of Port Arthur late in May and laid siege to the now beleaguered fortress.

From the beginning the land war went badly for Russia. Its soldiers were ill-trained, its arms outdated, and the Trans-Siberian Railway, only partially completed, proved unable to meet the logistic demands of General Aleksei Kuropatkin's forces, which were desperately trying to halt the Japanese advance in Manchuria. There seemed to be little hope of relieving Port Arthur by land, and the chances of doing so by sea were almost as unpromising. In addition to its Asian Fleet, Russia possessed only one other sizable naval force: the Baltic Squadron stationed at Kronshtadt under the command of Admiral Zinovi Rozhdestvenski, a veteran officer of acknowledged ability. The sole possibility of delivering Port Arthur lay in sending this fleet across eighteen thousand miles of ocean to Vladivostok, from which point a naval offensive could be launched against Togo. Nicholas II decreed that the attempt be made. Even for a modern fleet with experienced crews this would have been a formidable assignment; for the Baltic Squadron such a mission seemed preposterous. The ships anchored at Kronshtadt were for the most part rusty, undermanned, antiquated hulks in no condition to make steam for such a long and arduous voyage. The squadron, moreover, did not constitute a real battle fleet for it lacked a full complement of both ships of the line and auxiliary craft necessary for the provisioning of the fleet with coal and other supplies.

The Hamburg-American Line, or HAPAG (*Hamburg-Amerikanische-Paketfahrt-Aktien-Gesellschaft*) as the company was popularly known, offered Russia its services.[1] On Christmas Day, 1903, Albert Ballin, the line's

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[1] While the naval operations of the Russo-Japanese War have been described in detail in

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general director, sent several representatives to St. Petersburg to be on hand should Russia express an interest in acquiring HAPAG ships for use in the war that he felt was likely to break out at any moment between Russia and Japan. After extended negotiations, sixteen liners and freighters were purchased by the Russian government for conversion into warships or for use as auxiliaries.[2]

Before Rozhdestvenski could leave Kronshtadt, he had to be certain of coal supplies on his voyage to the Far East. Each Russian warship would burn from three to ten tons of coal per day while under steam; the total amount that would be consumed en route to Vladivostok amounted to approximately a half-million tons.[3] The coal itself would have to be obtained outside Russia since Russian coal was of inferior quality, and besides, as Rozhdestvenski moved into the Atlantic, domestic sources of supply would become impossibly distant. The squadron could not carry its own coal because of storage limita-

official histories by the participants and by those powers who attached observers to the Russian or Japanese naval staffs, very little has been written that portrays the HAPAG's vital role in Rozhdestvenski's voyage. A lively treatment by Richard Hough, *The Fleet That Had to Die* (New York, 1958), superficially and inaccurately considers the line's involvement. Diplomatic accounts are scarcely more satisfactory. George W. F. Hallgarten, *Imperialismus vor 1914: Theoretisches, soziologische Skizzen der aussenpolitischen Entwicklung in England und Frankreich, soziologische Darstellung der deutschen Aussenpolitik bis zum ersten Weltkrieg* (2 vols., Munich, 1951), and Kaspar Pinette, *Albert Ballin und die deutsche Politik: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Staat und Wirtschaft 1900–1918* (Hamburg, 1938), devote only short sections to the subject. The same is true of two recent studies by Boris A. Romanov, *Ocherki diplomaticheskoi istorii Russko-iaponskoi voiny, 1895–1907* (Moscow, 1947; rev. ed., Moscow, 1955). The most complete documentary account in print, though it omits much, is found in Germany, Foreign Ministry, *Die grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette 1871–1914* [hereafter cited as *GP*] (40 vols., Berlin, 1923–27), XIX, pt. 1, Chaps. cxxxiii and cxxxv. British and German archival material, both official and private, has recently become available and now makes it possible to trace the enormous difficulties, both technical and diplomatic, that Rozhdestvenski faced. The official British documents, deposited in the Public Record Office, London, are filed in Great Britain, Foreign Office, Germany, Political, Ser. 46, Vols. DCLX–DCLXII [hereafter cited as FO46]. The official German sources consist of three files: (1) Germany, *Admiralstab, Archiv der Marine,* II. Japan 11[d], *ganz geheim,* "Friedensakten betreffend Krieg zwischen Russland und Japan (Ausreise des Russischen II. und III. pacifischen Geschwaders), Schlacht bei Tsushima," [hereafter cited as II. Japan 11[d] g.g.], Vol. I, microfilm copy in the Public Record Office, Ser. G.F.M. 26, reel 46; (2) Germany, Foreign Ministry, Japan No. 20, No. 7, secret, "Akten betreffend Krieg zwischen Russland und Japan: Kohlenversorgung der Schiffe der kriegsführenden Mächte," Vols. I–VII [hereafter cited as Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr.], microfilm copy in the Public Record Office, Ser. G.F.M. 13, reel 148; (3) Germany, Foreign Ministry, Deutschland 131, No. 4, secret, "Geh. Akten betr. deutsch-russisch Verhandlungen (1904) anlässlich des russisch-japanischen Krieges," Vols. I–II [hereafter cited as Deutschland No. 131, No. 4, secr.], microfilm copy in the National Archives, Ser. T-120, serial 8162, reel 3314. When a document cited from the German microfilm collections is printed in Volume XIX, pt. 1, of the *GP,* the number assigned to the document in the *GP* will be placed in parentheses immediately following the microfilm reference. Microfilming of the German documents was often done on a selective basis; therefore some documents in the *GP* are not found in the microfilm collections. In such cases, the full citation from the *GP,* in all instances from Volume XIX, pt. 1, is given. Private sources are cited below. All dates are in New Style.

[2] Memo by Ballin, May–Oct. 1904, printed in Bernhard Huldermann, *Albert Ballin* (Oldenburg i.O. and Berlin, 1922), 146–49.

[3] Nikolai Klado, *The Russian Navy in the Russo-Japanese War* . . . (London, 1905), 40–41.

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tions, and neither the Russian Navy nor the empire's merchant marine could provide enough colliers to service Rozhdestvenski. The fact that Russia possessed no colonial coaling stations created further difficulties. Ships can coal on open seas, but this is a dangerous and time-consuming process. Russia was therefore faced with two problems. It would first be necessary to persuade a European state with African and Asian colonies to allow the squadron to coal in its ports or within its territorial waters. Then it would have to contract for coal deliveries by foreign colliers at these points.

There would also be legal complications. The sale and transport of coal by nonbelligerents were delicate and unresolved points of international law.[4] The major question was whether the foreign colliers supporting Rozhdestvenski would be regarded as belligerent or nonbelligerent vessels. If considered belligerents, their owners' right to purchase and take on coal would be challenged by any power with scruples about its neutrality, and the ships themselves would be subject to attack and seizure by the enemy. Great Britain's position, expressed in the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1870, was that any ship, domestic or foreign, that was "employed in the military or naval service of any foreign State at war with any friendly State" could not take on coal in British ports. A collier was considered so employed if it could be shown to have delivered fuel to a belligerent fleet more than once.

The coaling problem meant that Rozhdestvenski would be dependent on three of the Great Powers—powers having coal, ships, or coaling stations—for the success of his voyage to Vladivostok. Great Britain was Russia's logical medium for arranging both ports and coal, for it had the greatest number of overseas harbors and was the world's only supplier of hard, Cardiff coal required by the obsolete boilers of Rozhdestvenski's fleet. British firms had for many years supplied the Russian Navy with coal, but the propriety of this trade in the present war, quite apart from the legal complexities involved, was questionable because of the alliance entered into in 1902 by Great Britain and Japan. The Russian government therefore raised the question of further deliveries with a Dartmouth firm that had previously furnished it with fuel. The concern referred the matter to the Foreign Office, which applied to the Admiralty for a decision. At the end of July 1904 Sir John Fisher, the First Sea Lord, advised the coal company that it would not be "expedient" to

[4] The literature concerning neutrality is almost silent on this subject. See, *inter alia,* Amos S. Hershey, *The International Law and Diplomacy of the Russo-Japanese War* (New York and London, 1906); T. J. Lawrence, *War and Neutrality in the Far East* (London, 1904); F. E. Smith and N. W. Sibley, *International Law as Interpreted in the Russo-Japanese War* (Boston, 1905); Nagao Ariga, *La guerre russo-japonaise au point de vue continental et le droit international . . .* (Paris, 1908); Louis Bon, *La guerre russo-japonaise et la neutralité* (Montpellier, 1930).

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deliver coal to the Russian fleet if it appeared in British ports; nor should it fill nonbelligerent colliers there if it could be demonstrated that such coal was destined for delivery to Rozhdestvenski elsewhere.[5] Because of deliberately obscure sailing orders, however, it was virtually impossible to determine with exactitude for whom the colliers' cargoes were intended. The British government therefore made no attempt at this time to prevent vessels with superficially legitimate orders belonging to or under charter to nonbelligerents from taking on coal in British ports.

Nicholas II had meanwhile asked his ally, France, to grant Rozhdestvenski shelter in its colonial ports. In August 1904 the French Foreign Minister, Théophile Delcassé, somewhat nervously agreed to grant the Russian fleet permission to use French ports from the West African coast to Annam.[6] France, however, could not supply the colliers necessary for provisioning the squadron as it worked its way toward Vladivostok.

Once again, Russia turned to the Hamburg-American Line. In June 1904, the HAPAG, without consulting the German government, signed a coaling contract with C. Wachter & Co., a St. Petersburg firm acting in behalf of the Russian government.[7] Under the terms of this contract and its subsequent alterations, the HAPAG was obligated to deliver approximately 338,200 tons of coal to the Russian squadron at points from the east coast of Denmark to the Chusan Archipelago, sixty miles south of Shanghai. The operation would be performed in the following manner. Colliers belonging to the HAPAG and those it had chartered from British firms would call at British ports and take on coal for the account of the HAPAG, thereupon departing with vague orders to points usually in open seas. Once under way, German and Russian supercargoes on board would open a second series of secret orders that indicated where the ships were actually to rendezvous with Rozhdestvenski.[8]

[5] London *Times,* Sept. 26, 1904. Lord Lansdowne, the Foreign Secretary, so informed the Russian ambassador in London. (See Geoffray [chargé d'affaires, London] to Théophile Delcassé, Aug. 16, 1904, France, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Documents diplomatiques français 1871–1914* [41 vols., Paris, 1929–36], 2d Ser., V, 374–75; Lord Newton, *Lord Lansdowne: A Biography* [London, 1929], 314–15.)

[6] Maurice Paléologue, *Three Critical Years (1904–05–06)* (New York, 1957), 89–107.

[7] "Contract Buch, geheim," archive of the Hamburg-American Line, Hamburg [hereafter cited as HAPAG, "Contract Buch"], two contracts dated June 21, 1904, and accompanying delivery schedules, one undated and one dated Aug. 9, 1904; see also copy of letter by General Avellan, Russian Minister of Marine, and others to C. Wachter & Co., June 25, 1904.

[8] For details of these operations, see undated memo by Captain Wiehr of the HAPAG's *Castilia,* entitled "Die Kohlenlieferung der Russischen Flotte unter Admiral Rosehdjistwensky vom Aquator bis zum Kap der guten Hoffnung," II. Japan 11[d] g.g.; report dated Dec. 12, 1904, by Captain Hoffschmidt of the HAPAG's *Frisia, ibid.;* memo by Egbert von Lepel, a German naval observer, June 23, 1905, *ibid.;* Jacobs (consul general at Cape Town) to Bernhard von Bülow, Dec. 16, 1904, *ibid.;* see also G. Bouteiller, "Avec la flotte russe," *La Revue de Paris,* XV (Mar. 15, 1908), 329–60, (Apr. 15, 1908), 852–74, (May 15, 1908), 349–68.

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Rumors of the HAPAG's arrangements with Russia began to circulate in the British press at the end of August 1904, but it was not until reports of a contract appeared in the London *Shipping Gazette* on September 12 that the news attracted any attention.[9] The Japanese minister in Berlin, Katsunoske Marquis Inouye, immediately appeared at the Foreign Office to ask that an article in the *Berliner Tageblatt* based on the *Shipping Gazette* story be officially denied. Deputy Secretary of State Friedrich Count Pourtalès reminded Inouye that the British were also deeply involved and maintained that the matter was a private business affair and therefore one in which the German government could not properly intervene.[10] Emmerich Count Arco-Valley, the German minister in Tokyo, dissented and expressed concern that the HAPAG had been allowed to lead Germany into a potentially dangerous situation.[11]

This was not the first time that German businessmen, in their search for profits in international trade, had acted without first consulting their government and in doing so had involved Berlin in difficult political problems which German diplomacy was expected successfully to resolve. The Chancellor, Bernhard Count Bülow, found himself placed in an unenviable position by the HAPAG, one which taxed his celebrated talents for diplomatic manipulation. If Ballin were permitted to proceed with his contract, Germany would run the risk of endangering its relations with Japan. The British, if the London press mirrored the government's feelings, were visibly displeased by the coaling contract and could be expected to make common cause with their ally. On the other hand, the HAPAG had confronted the German government with a *fait accompli,* and to demand the abrogation of the contract was certain to alienate the Tsar and would likely displease Ballin's good friend, the German Kaiser. After reflecting on the unpleasant alternatives, Bülow decided that he would have to risk the emperors' animosity in order to avoid

[9] The earliest rumors appeared in the London *Times,* Aug. 22, 1904; for the *Shipping Gazette* article, see the *Handels-Zeitung des Berliner Tageblatts,* Sept. 12, 1904; see also London *Times,* Sept. 15, 1904. A successful attempt by Ballin in July to keep rumors of the HAPAG's negotiations out of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* is described in Gustav Mayer, *Erinnerungen: Vom Journalisten zum Historiker der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* (Munich, 1949), 152–53.

[10] Memo by Vortragender Rat Reinhold Klehmet, Sept. 14, 1904 (6077), Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., I; memo by Pourtalès, Sept. 16, 1904 (6078), *ibid.;* Pourtalès to Arco, Sept. 17, 1904, *ibid.* At Bülow's instigation, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* made the same defense of the German government's position. (Bülow to Foreign Office [hereafter cited as FO], Sept. 17, 1904, *ibid.,* and the London *Times,* Sept. 19, 1904, which quotes excerpts from the *NDAZ* report.)

[11] Arco to FO, Sept. 20, 1904 (6079), Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., I. Arco was not the HAPAG's only critic on this score; see also Richard von Kühlmann, *Erinnerungen* (Heidelberg, 1948), 216–17, and Arnold Petzet, *Heinrich Wiegand: Ein Lebensbild* (Bremen, 1932), 255–57. Socialist discontent at the HAPAG's traffic with tsarist Russia is vividly expressed in the *Deutsch-Soziale Blätter (Deutsches Blatt),* Sept. 10, 1904.

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stirring up both England and Japan. The Hamburg-American Line, he concluded, would have to find "ways and means" of getting out of its business dealings with the Russians.[12]

The Chancellor therefore summoned Ballin to Homburg von der Höhe, where the court was vacationing, to give him such an order. Ballin did not intend to lose his lucrative client in St. Petersburg without a struggle.[13] At their meeting on September 23 Ballin pointed out that neither England nor Japan had any grounds for complaint against the HAPAG or against the German government. He noted that a London firm was associated with the HAPAG in the affair, that the coal and most of the chartered colliers were British, and that the whole business was being carried out openly with the knowledge of the British government. Furthermore, the Japanese themselves were receiving coal and Krupp-made arms and ammunition from British shippers. There was virtually nothing to be gained from a surrender to Anglo-Japanese pressure on this point, the general director reasoned, for tearing up the contract would certainly alienate Russia, but not necessarily improve Germany's relations with Japan and England.[14]

By the conclusion of their conference, Ballin, whose persuasive powers were enormous, had completely won the Chancellor over to his position. Bülow's view that the HAPAG must cancel its contract vanished.[15] At the Chancellor's request, Ballin drew up a formal statement that reiterated the argument he had made to Bülow and that dismissed the British charges against the HAPAG's alleged neutrality violations as totally untenable and traceable to a few British shipowners who were jealous at not having themselves won the valuable Russian contract.[16] The HAPAG's house organ declared that "England should learn to live with the fact that Germany cannot and will not renounce trying in honorable competition to conquer a place in the sun alongside it."[17]

Once Bülow had agreed to the HAPAG's coaling contract, only the Kaiser's consent remained to be secured. This proved quite easy to obtain

[12] Bülow to Wilhelm II, Sept. 21, 1904, Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., I; Bülow to Secretary of State (FO) Oswald Baron Richthofen, Sept. 22, 1904, *ibid.*; Arco to FO, Sept. 20, 1904 (6079), *ibid.*

[13] Though precise figures are not available, it is certain that the HAPAG made a considerable profit from its coaling operations, one director estimating the sum at 13,500,000 marks. (See Johannes Merck, "Meine Erinnerungen an die Hamburg-Amerika Linie und an Albert Ballin," typescript in Familienarchiv Merck, II 8 Konv. 2b, Staatsarchiv, Hamburg; see also Huldermann, *Ballin,* 149. HAPAG, "Contract Buch," gives the terms of the contract.)

[14] Ballin's notes of the talk are printed in Huldermann, *Ballin,* 147–48.

[15] Bülow to Richthofen, Sept. 23, 1904 (6080), Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., I.

[16] Unsigned, undated "Promemoria" (6082), identified as Ballin's in Schrafer to FO, Oct. 3, 1904, *ibid.*

[17] *Zeitschrift der Hamburg-Amerika Linie,* III. Jg. (Oct. 5, 1904), 148–49, archive of the Hamburg-American Line.

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since Wilhelm II was not only partial to Ballin and his line but was prejudiced against the Japanese on ethnic and religious grounds.[18] The Kaiser, who behaved somewhat excitedly during the entire coaling crisis, rashly believed that the result of Germany's discontinuing Rozhdestvenski's coal supplies would be an immediate Anglo-Russian alliance which would then declare war on Germany.[19] Wilhelm therefore wired the Tsar on October 8 that he had ordered that the HAPAG not be prevented from fulfilling its contract.[20]

A week later, on October 15, Rozhdestvenski's squadron put out to sea, taking its first delivery of coal from the HAPAG off the Danish coast.[21] Once in the North Sea, the nervous Russians mistook a small group of British trawlers fishing off Dogger Bank for Admiral Togo's fleet, which they believed also to be making its way around the world, but in the opposite direction. The Russians opened fire, and a number of British vessels were sunk with some loss of life.[22] London immediately demanded an explanation, but Russian replies were evasive and unsatisfactory. An acute crisis had materialized by the time Rozhdestvenski put in at Vigo to receive further supplies of coal from the HAPAG and orders from St. Petersburg.[23] The danger of war was averted when Russia and England agreed to submit the incident to an international commission for arbitration. Spain at first refused to permit the HAPAG to coal Rozhdestvenski's ships, and only after considerable discussion was the Russian squadron allowed to take on limited amounts of fuel. Rozhdestvenski then proceeded southward.

[18] Bernhard Prince von Bülow, *Denkwürdigkeiten* (4 vols., Berlin, 1930–31), II, 132; see also Arthur N. Davis, *The Kaiser as I Knew Him* (New York, 1918), 12, 108–109.

[19] Undated telegram of Wilhelm II to Bülow, enclosed in Bülow to FO, Sept. 25, 1904, *GP,* item 6081, 252–53.

[20] The Kaiser's message to Nicholas of Oct. 8, 1904, is printed in *The Willy-Nicky Correspondence: Being the Secret and Intimate Telegrams Exchanged between the Kaiser and the Tsar,* ed. Herman Bernstein (New York, 1918), 56–59. Other communications on the coaling crisis between the two emperors are found in *Briefe Wilhelms II. an den Zaren 1894–1914,* ed. Walter Goetz (Berlin, n.d.), and in "Bjorkoe," *Die Kriegsschuldfrage,* II (Nov. 1924), 449–501. Whenever possible, the correspondence will be cited from the *GP,* in which much of the exchange is printed.

[21] Valuable memoirs of men who sailed with Rozhdestvenski are: Eugene S. Politovsky, *From Libau to Tsushima: A Narrative of the Voyage of Admiral Rojdestvensky's Fleet . . .* (London, 1907); Wladimir Semenoff, *Rasplata (the Reckoning): His Diary . . .* (London, 1909); A. Novikoff-Priboy, *Tsushima,* tr. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York, 1937); A. M. Zakovaya, "Do Tsusimy," *Krasny Arkhiv,* VI (No. 67, 1934), 193–200; anonymous memoir in the *Natal Mercury,* Jan. 25–28, Jan. 30–Feb. 2, 1905, in FO 46/661; Klado, *Russian Navy;* Bouteiller, "Avec la flotte russe."

[22] On the Dogger Bank episode, see Great Britain, FO, Russia, Political, Ser. 65, Vols. MDCCXIX–MDCCXXXV; Germany, Foreign Ministry, Japan No. 20, No. 8, "Akten betreffend Krieg zwischen Russland und Japan . . . ," microfilm copy in the Public Record Office, Ser. G.F.M. 13, reel 137; Deutschland No. 131, No. 4, secr., I; Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr.

[23] Bülow indirectly warned Great Britain that any rash action on its part could easily involve all the Great Powers in war. (See Deutschland No. 131, No. 4, secr., I, frames H197332–50, and the two *notes secrètes* by Paléologue in *Documents diplomatiques français,* 2d Ser., V, 501–503, also printed in *Three Critical Years,* 109–11: see also Paléologue's diary entry of Nov. 9, 1904, *ibid.,* 121.)

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In Wilhelm II's judgment, the Vigo incident was not only offensive but also ominous, for he believed that the British had been responsible for the obstruction of Rozhdestvenski's coaling in the Spanish port. Continuing English demands that the HAPAG cease its operations were, Wilhelm declared, tantamount to a threat of blockade.[24] The Hamburg-American Line had involved Germany in a dangerous state of affairs, but one that could perhaps be turned to Berlin's advantage. Wilhelm had long hoped to engineer a rapprochement between Germany and Russia, one based on a treaty that would enable Germany to overcome its diplomatic isolation from the other European superpowers. The complications with England and Japan inherent in the HAPAG's coaling contract made such an alliance not only desirable but in fact imperative. Russia's need of coal was so great, the Kaiser reasoned, that it could not well afford to turn a deaf ear to German overtures for an alliance. If Russia had to have coal to continue its war at sea, Germany would have to have adequate security for its risks in providing it. The coaling question could become the lever for pressuring Russia into an alliance which, eventually, would realize Germany's diplomatic aims and, more immediately, protect it against a current danger.[25]

On October 27 Wilhelm, therefore, proposed that the two sovereigns prepare for eventual British interference with the HAPAG's coal deliveries to the Russian fleet. The proposal did not please the Russians because any change for the better in Russia's relations with Germany threatened to imperil the Tsar's close ties with France.[26] The Kaiser's overtures, however, would have to be treated seriously, at least until Rozhdestvenski was safely in Vladivostok. Nicholas II therefore signified his willingness to enter into an "arrangement to abolish Anglo-Japanese arrogance and insolence," and Wilhelm subsequently sent him a provisional convention broadly providing for mutual aid in the event of aggression by a third party.[27] The negotiations came to nothing, however, since the Tsar, over Wilhelm's objections, insisted that he must consult France before signing such a treaty.[28] Wilhelm's first attempt had

[24] Robert Count Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Zwölf Jahre am deutschen Kaiserhof* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1924), 86.

[25] That Wilhelm's intention was simultaneously to acquire short- and long-term support from Russia is clear from the nature of the draft treaty he soon thereafter submitted to the Tsar, printed in *GP,* item 6120, Bülow to Wilhelm, Oct. 30, 1904, 305–308; see also Alfred von Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen* (Leipzig, 1919), 143–45.

[26] See the correspondence between the Russian ambassador in Berlin, Nicholas Count Osten-Sacken, and Foreign Minister Vladimir Count Lamsdorf, Oct. 27–28, 1904, in *Kriegsschuldfrage,* II (Nov. 1924), 456–58, 464–65.

[27] Nicholas and Wilhelm's correspondence on the treaty negotiations is printed in *GP,* items 6119–21, 305–308; *Willy-Nicky Correspondence,* ed. Bernstein, 68–71, 73–75; see also *Kriegsschuldfrage,* II (Nov. 1924), 461–62, for communications on this subject between Nicholas and Lamsdorf.

[28] Nicholas to Wilhelm, Nov. 23, 1904, Wilhelm to Nicholas, Nov. 26, 1904, *Willy-Nicky*

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ended in failure. The German government was unwilling to force the HAPAG to cancel its obligation in retaliation, for such a step, if it eliminated any danger of war with England and Japan, would almost certainly close the door to any future treaty negotiations with the Tsar. Berlin therefore attempted for the moment to steer a middle course, allowing the coaling to continue, but only in such a manner as to give minimum offense to Great Britain and Japan. The Foreign Office instructed the HAPAG to keep it fully informed of all details of its coaling operations, and Secretary of State Richthofen personally urged Ballin to try to carry out his contract so as to avoid any untoward incident with other powers.[29] Bülow even went so far as to order the HAPAG ships not to coal Rozhdestvenski's fleet in German ports along the West African coast and retracted this command only when Ballin pointed out that Rozhdestvenski would be unable to make Madagascar unless he were allowed to take on coal in Lüderitz Bay.[30] In return, Ballin promised Bülow that his colliers would not proceed into the theater of war and that they would not accompany the Russian fleet, but rather would meet it only in neutral ports.[31]

The issue of British interference with the HAPAG's coaling operations became imminent early in December. The British government, long suspicious of the HAPAG colliers and their misleading orders, was determined to discover whether in fact their coal was regularly being consigned to the Russian fleet. If so, the Foreign Enlistment Act could be invoked. Applying this legislation to a German vessel could, of course, lead to what the Foreign Office termed a "serious political situation."[32] After carefully collecting evidence, the British nevertheless decided to make a test case of the *Kapitän W.*

Correspondence, ed. Bernstein, 83, 85–88; see also Alexandre Savinsky, *Recollections of a Russian Diplomat* (London, n.d.), 103; and Paléologue, *Three Critical Years,* 113–21.

[29] Richthofen to Ballin, Nov. 9, 1904, Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., II; Ballin to Richthofen, Nov. 9, 1904, *ibid.;* Ballin to Richthofen, Nov. 11, 1904, *ibid.,* III. The Foreign Office in turn reported developments to the navy. See Friedrich von Holstein to Chef des Admiralstabes Wilhelm Büchsel, Nov. 8, 1904, *ibid.,* II; Richthofen to Büchsel, Nov. 15, 1904, *ibid.,* III; see also Büchsel to Richthofen, Nov. 2, 1904, II. Japan 11[d] g.g.; Büchsel to Ballin, Nov. 9, 1904, *ibid.;* Ballin to Büchsel, Nov. 11, 1904, *ibid.;* unsigned memo, probably by Büchsel, Nov. 17, 1904, *ibid.*

[30] See Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., III and IV, for correspondence on this point, primarily between Richthofen, Ballin, and Heinrich von Tschirschky und Bögendorff (Prussian minister in Hamburg), from Nov. 25 to Dec. 13, 1904.

[31] Richthofen to Ballin, Nov. 18, 1904, *ibid.,* III; Richthofen to Arco, Nov. 24, 1904, *ibid.;* Richthofen to Paul Count Wolff Metternich (ambassador in London), Nov. 24, 1904, *ibid.* There is some evidence that the HAPAG did in fact coal Rozhdestvenski on open sea between Vigo and Madagascar. (See unsigned memo of Nov. 17, 1904, probably by Büchsel, II. Japan 11[d] g.g.; Jacobs to Bülow, Dec. 16, 1904, *ibid.*)

[32] Minute by W. E. Davidson (legal adviser to the FO), Dec. 3, 1904, FO 46/660; see also notes by Lord Lansdowne and F. A. Campbell (Assistant Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs), Dec. 3, 1904, *ibid.*

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Menzel, a ship chartered by the Hamburg-American Line then taking on large stores of coal at Cardiff and one that had been observed delivering a similar cargo to Rozhdestvenski at Vigo three weeks earlier. On December 3, customs officials at Cardiff informed the ship's master that he would not be permitted to load more coal than was necessary for the voyage to Hamburg. A warrant was sent from London forcibly to detain the *Menzel* should the master prove difficult. Both the Kaiser and his government agreed that a resort to force against Great Britain would be futile, and there was therefore nothing to do but accede to the British order.[33] The *Menzel*'s captain, undoubtedly on instructions from Hamburg or Berlin, gave the demanded written guarantee that he would take on only enough coal to make Hamburg. This being done, there was no necessity to issue the warrant, and on December 9 the *Menzel* departed scantily laden for Hamburg.

The *Menzel* incident did not mean the end of the HAPAG's coaling operations. Because of the delicate political nature of the problem, London was reluctant to apply the Foreign Enlistment Act in the absence of absolutely certain proof such as was available for the *Menzel.* The British government therefore issued no blanket injunction against coal deliveries to the HAPAG in home ports.[34] To Ballin, the *Menzel*'s detention had been a regrettable accident, one due to an insufficient exertion of caution, discretion, and subterfuge by the HAPAG. In the future, the line's colliers would either have to coal only once in British ports or make certain that their junctions with Rozhdestvenski went unnoticed by British consular officials. Ballin was reluctant to believe that England would press its opposition to the HAPAG's coaling to the point of armed intervention and was inclined therefore to worry more about Japanese interference with his ships. To Berlin, however, the Japanese threat was secondary, especially so long as the Russian fleet was thousands of miles from the war zone. It was England's reaction that alarmed Bülow and Wilhelm II, and though Germany's capitulation in the *Menzel* affair had cleared up the immediate crisis, Great Britain's forceful action indicated that other, and perhaps more serious, moves against the HAPAG might be expected from that quarter. The Kaiser and his Chancellor were determined this time to force Russia into an agreement that would protect Germany against such an eventuality.

The moment seemed favorable for forcing Nicholas' signature to such a treaty, for Russia's position in the Far East was steadily deteriorating. On

[33] Richthofen to Ballin, Dec. 5, 1904, Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., III; Zedlitz, *Zwölf Jahre,* 86–87.

[34] Hamilton Earl of Desart (solicitor to the treasury) to Campbell, Jan. 29, 1905, FO 46/661; notes by Davidson, Jan. 30, 1905, in which such a move is considered and rejected, *ibid.*

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Bülow's advice the Kaiser informed Nicholas that the Russian government would have to guarantee its assistance in the event of an Anglo-German war if it expected the HAPAG to deliver more coal to Rozhdestvenski.[35]

Nicholas was hard pressed, and Wilhelm knew it. The Baltic Squadron, now lying at Lüderitz in German Southwest Africa, had to have coal if it were to move on. The Kaiser wrote smugly to Bülow: "Aber wie der Chinese sagt, in pigeon English: 'If no have got coal, how can do?'"[36] The Tsar, apparently confident that the coaling matter was not likely to involve Germany in a war with England and that he could explain things to France, instructed his Foreign Minister, Vladimir Count Lamsdorf, to give the German ambassador the necessary assurances.[37] The Foreign Minister declared to Count Alvensleben on December 12 that "the Imperial Government of Russia formally binds itself to make common cause with Germany if it is attacked by Japan or by England as a result of having furnished coal to the Russian squadron."[38] The ambassador seemed satisfied, but Lamsdorf felt that Wilhelm would be displeased, presumably because the Russian declaration treated only the coaling crisis and not the question of a general alliance.[39] Nicholas simultaneously informed the Kaiser that he had ordered Lamsdorf to state his "complete acquiescence to your wish concerning the coaling question."[40] Wilhelm wired his thanks for these assurances but, as Lamsdorf had predicted, he rather petulantly expressed his doubts that the Russian guarantees would prove sufficient protection for Germany.[41] Bülow and Friedrich von Holstein, the Chancellor's adviser at the Foreign Office, were equally dissatisfied with Nicholas' answer, and both men were determined that pressure be continued to wring an alliance out of Russia.[42] The German ambassador in London, Paul Count Wolff Metternich, whom Bülow had

[35] See Bülow to Wilhelm, Dec. 6, 1904, Bülow to Friedrich Count Alvensleben (German ambassador to Russia), Dec. 6, 1904, Wilhelm to Nicholas, Dec. 7, 1904, *GP,* items 6088, 6129–30, 263–65, 320–22.

[36] Undated note, frame H197375, Deutschland No. 131, No. 4, secr., II.

[37] Savinsky, *Recollections,* 108.

[38] Lamsdorf to Alvensleben, Dec. 12, 1904, *GP,* item 6137, 329; Alvensleben to Bülow, Dec. 13, 1904, *ibid.,* item 6138, 330–31; Alexandre Savinsky, "Guillaume II et la Russie: Ses dépêches à Nicolas II (1903–05)," *Revue des Deux Mondes,* XII (Dec. 15, 1922), 795; see also Alvensleben to FO, Dec. 11, 1904 (6134), frames H197366–69, Deutschland No. 131, No. 4, secr.; Bülow to Wilhelm, Dec. 12, 1904, H197371–72, *ibid.;* Bülow, *Denkwürdigkeiten,* II, 133.

[39] Savinsky, *Recollections,* 108.

[40] Telegram of Dec. 12, 1904, *Willy-Nicky Correspondence,* ed. Bernstein, 96; see also Nicholas to Wilhelm, Dec. 11, 1904, *GP,* item 6133, 325.

[41] Wire of Dec. 21, 1904, *ibid.,* item 6141, 340–41; see also Nicholas' Christmas Day wire to Wilhelm, *ibid.,* item 6145, 346; and the Kaiser's dyspeptic reaction, Wilhelm to Bülow, Dec. 26, 1904, *ibid.,* item 6146, 346–47.

[42] Holstein to Bülow, Dec. 14, 1904, Bülow to Holstein, Dec. 15, 1904, and Holstein to Metternich, Dec. 16, 1904, printed in *The Holstein Papers,* ed. Norman Rich and M. H. Fisher (4 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1955–63), IV, 316–20; see also Holstein's notes appended to Alvensleben to FO, Dec. 12, 1904, *GP,* item 6136, 328–29.

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called home for consultation, opposed such a coercive policy. The ambassador dismissed a Russo-German alliance as strategically worthless and sure to provoke England. The coaling question must therefore be considered independent of it. Metternich advised Bülow to adopt a passive policy whereby Germany would let its behavior be determined by the course taken by England and Japan. The British showed no signs, as it turned out, of following up the *Menzel* incident with sterner action, and the Japanese remained quiet. There was no advantage in gratuitously arousing their ire by entering into a useless partnership with Russia. As long as the situation remained calm, Germany should maintain that the coaling was the HAPAG's private concern. Only if Japan or England created an "immediately dangerous situation" *(eine direkt gefährliche Situation)* should the government order Ballin to stop his activities at once, pleading *force majeure* to Russia and placing the blame for Rozhdestvenski's consequent immobility on England.[43] Metternich carried his point, and the Chancellor instructed Alvensleben to discontinue for the time being his efforts to press the Russians into an alliance.[44] It would not be until July 1905, after Russia's defeat by Japan, that Nicholas would give in to Wilhelm's insistence for an alliance and sign the short-lived Treaty of Björkö.

Rozhdestvenski, who had impatiently been awaiting the settlement of the coaling matter by the two monarchs, was at last authorized to quit Lüderitz and steam around the Cape of Good Hope. On January 9, 1905, the Baltic Squadron anchored off Nossi-Bé, a sheltered inlet off the northwest coast of Madagascar, where Rozhdestvenski was to wait until additional men-of-war coming through the Mediterranean rendezvoused with him. On arriving at Nossi-Bé, the Russians learned that Port Arthur had finally fallen to the Japanese a few days earlier. What Rozhdestvenski had hoped to prevent had now occurred. The capitulation of Port Arthur added a new element of danger, for Admiral Togo was now free to search for the Russian fleet and its German auxiliaries. Now that Japan, rather than England, became the power likely to interfere with his ships, Ballin himself for the first time grew alarmed.

Just before the disaster at Port Arthur, Ballin had a long talk with Metternich, a good friend since the days when the Count had served as Prussian minister to the Hanseatic cities. In this conversation Ballin expressed fear that

[43] Memo by Bülow, Dec. 16, 1904, *ibid.*, item 6139, 331–32; memo by Metternich, Dec. 18, 1904, *ibid.*, item 6140, 332–40.

[44] Bülow to Alvensleben, Dec. 21, 1904, *ibid.*, item 6143, 342–43; Alvensleben to Bülow, Dec. 26, 1904, *ibid.*, item 6144, 343–45; Wilhelm to Bülow, Dec. 28, 1904, *ibid.*, item 6146, 346–47; Bülow to Alvensleben, Jan. 1, 1905, *ibid.*, item 6147, 347–48; letter of Dec. 21, 1904, *Briefe Wilhelms*, ed. Goetz, 354.

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if the colliers proceeded east of Madagascar they would likely run into Togo's fleet.[45] Although Ballin did not say so, he was undoubtedly concerned by Japan's recent declaration that in the future any port in which Rozhdestvenski coaled was not to be regarded as a neutral harbor.[46] In view of these alterations in the military and political situation in the Far East, Ballin wanted the HAPAG's contract with C. Wachter & Co. abrogated. After discussing and rejecting other plans of action, Ballin proposed to Metternich that the HAPAG sell the Russians as many colliers as they needed to complete their mission. Rozhdestvenski would then become responsible for supplying these ships with Russian flags and personnel. The German government would be relieved of all diplomatic embarrassments resulting from the coaling, while the HAPAG could retire from a profitable but increasingly hazardous business engagement. Metternich immediately reported his conversation with Ballin to the Chancellor; Bülow replied that Ballin's proposal to sell his colliers was "practical" (*zweckmässig*). Wilhelm II concurred.[47]

Ballin wired the chief HAPAG agent at Nossi-Bé that the colliers were not to leave Madagascar without explicit orders from Hamburg.[48] At the same time, Wachter & Co. was informed that further use of the HAPAG vessels was contingent on their being purchased by Russia and being outfitted with Russian crews and markings.[49] The Russians emphatically rejected Ballin's purchase plan and informed the HAPAG that such a solution to the coaling problem was impossible since there were no trained personnel available in Russia to man the colliers.[50] Ballin had now either to repudiate his contract or fulfill it. He decided on the latter alternative, but resolved that the coaling continue only under conditions that he hoped would minimize the Japanese threat to the HAPAG ships and personnel. His task became one of exacting additional security measures from Russia to offset the HAPAG's increased risks beyond Madagascar. First of all, Rozhdestvenski was no longer to be empowered to order the German ships where he wished. A council composed of three HAPAG collier captains was to be accorded the right to decide

[45] Metternich to Bülow, Dec. 26, 1904, Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., IV. Metternich incorrectly refers to Fusan, rather than Chusan, as the terminal coaling point contracted by the HAPAG.

[46] Anton (consul general at Batavia) to Bülow, Dec. 28, 1904, *ibid.*, V; Anton to Bülow, Dec. 21, 1904, *ibid.*, VI; HAPAG memo, dated Feb. 12, 1906, II. Japan 11[d] g.g.

[47] Bülow's memo for Richthofen *et al.*, Dec. 27, 1904, Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., IV; Bülow to Metternich, Dec. 27, 1904, *ibid.*; Bülow to FO, Dec. 29, 1904, *ibid.*

[48] Undated report by Inspector Wünneberg of the HAPAG to the line's *Direktion*, enclosed in Ballin to Büchsel, Sept. 6, 1905, II. Japan 11[d] g.g.; for the reaction in Nossi-Bé, see Novikoff-Priboy, *Tsushima*, 74–75; Semenoff, *Rasplata*, 347.

[49] Tschirschky to Bülow, Jan. 13, 1905, Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., V.

[50] Wünneberg report in Ballin to Büchsel, Sept. 6, 1905, II. Japan 11[d] g.g.; memo by Captain Duckstein of the HAPAG, Apr. 1, 1905, *ibid.*; Richthofen memo, Jan. 24, 1905, Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., V; Otto von Mühlberg (Undersecretary of State, FO) to Tirpitz, Jan. 27, 1905, *ibid.*

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whether the coaling points named by the Russian admiral were safe enough for coaling purposes. Russian cruisers were to scout every prospective rendezvous and "cleanse" (*säubern*) the area of any Japanese warships. Elaborate instructions were to be given to the HAPAG captains to submit without protest should they be stopped en route by Togo's cruisers.[51] To offer the HAPAG additional financial security, Ballin demanded that the Russian government post an indemnity bond of 100,000,000 marks to cover any property losses suffered by the line.[52] The Russians, Ballin complained, were pressing him to release his ships to Rozhdestvenski; he therefore inquired at the Foreign Office whether the HAPAG should continue coaling if these conditions were met.[53]

The Foreign Office had no enthusiasm for Ballin's plan, and its doubts were fortified by Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, Secretary of the *Reichsmarineamt,* who declared, in answer to an inquiry from Richthofen, that in view of the new Japanese neutrality rulings it was in no way possible fully to protect the German colliers against seizure by the Japanese.[54] Since, however, there was no momentary indication of trouble by England or Japan, there was no reason to order Ballin to repudiate his contract. In accordance with Metternich's advice, the Foreign Office, on January 31, instructed the Prussian minister in Hamburg to tell Ballin that the government would not pass judgment on his proposed guarantees, save to declare that it expected that every precaution would be taken by the HAPAG to protect German lives aboard the colliers.[55]

Wilhelm II, who had not been consulted before this directive was dispatched to Hamburg, took a more serious view of the matter and countermanded the January 31 instructions on the following day. The Kaiser was convinced that the Indian Ocean itself constituted a theater of war: he may have been influenced by talk at court that the HAPAG's coaling operations had appreciably worsened Germany's relations with England, so much so that a conflict between the two powers might result.[56] The Foreign Office was therefore informed that considerations of German security would no

[51] For these safeguards, see Paul von Hintze (naval attaché, St. Petersburg) to Tirpitz, Jan. 11, 1905, *ibid.;* Alvensleben to FO, Jan. 21, 1905, *ibid.;* Büchsel memo, Feb. 4, 1905, *ibid.;* Richthofen memo, Jan. 24, 1905, Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., V.

[52] Tschirschky to Bülow, Feb. 6, 1905, *ibid.,* VI; Richthofen memo, Jan. 24, 1905, *ibid.,* V.

[53] Tschirschky to Bülow, Feb. 6, 1905, *ibid.,* VI; Richthofen memo, Jan. 24, 1905, *ibid.,* V.

[54] Tirpitz' answer is in II. Japan 11[d] g.g., Jan. 30, 1905; see also Richthofen memo, Jan. 24, 1905, Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., V; Mühlberg to Tschirschky, Jan. 31, 1905, *ibid.;* Mühlberg to Tirpitz, Jan. 27, 1905 (6089), *ibid.*

[55] Mühlberg to Tschirschky, Jan. 31, 1905, *ibid.*

[56] *Das Tagebuch der Baronin Spitzemberg geb. Freiin von Varnbüler: Aufzeichnungen aus der Hofgesellschaft des Hohenzollernreiches,* ed. Rudolf Vierhaus (2d ed., Göttingen, 1961), diary entry of Feb. 12, 1905, 445.

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longer allow the HAPAG to coal Rozhdestvenski's fleet.[57] On February 1 Ballin was summoned to Berlin for an audience, when Wilhelm ordered positively that no German ships, men, nor flags, no matter how well their safety seemed assured to Ballin, were to proceed beyond Madagascar. Furthermore, Ballin was to communicate this to the Russians without in any way mentioning the German government or the Kaiser himself.[58] If St. Petersburg wanted the German ships, it could buy them.

There was nothing for Ballin to do but to send two HAPAG officials to St. Petersburg to inform C. Wachter & Co. These representatives attributed the breaking of the contract to the fact that recent strategic and legal considerations had so altered the circumstances under which the original contract had been signed that the line no longer felt itself bound by it. It was suggested once again that the Russians purchase the colliers.[59] At the same time, HAPAG agents in Madagascar informed Rozhdestvenski—contrary to the Kaiser's orders that the government be in no way involved—that no deliveries could be made pending a decision by Bülow.[60]

On being advised of the German decision, Nicholas II telegraphed the Kaiser demanding that Wilhelm force Ballin to honor his obligations. Bülow urged Wilhelm to retreat from his adamant order to Ballin for, the Chancellor pointed out, there could be no happy future for Russo-German relations if the Tsar believed that he had been compelled to make peace because the German government would give him no coal. Wilhelm must dissociate himself in every way from the coaling business, leaving all decisions to Ballin, who, Bülow was sure, intended to see that Rozhdestvenski got his coal.[61] As a result of Bülow's entreaties, the Kaiser backed down and wired Nicholas rather curtly that the coaling was the HAPAG's private affair and that he could only instruct Ballin that he was "at liberty to act as he thinks fit of course at his own risks."[62] A similar message was sent to Ballin, though the German government insisted at the same time that the HAPAG not abandon its attempts to sell its colliers to Russia.[63] These negotiations did in fact

[57] Mühlberg to Tschirschky, Feb. 2, 1905, Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., VI; Mühlberg memo, Feb. 2, 1905 (6090), *ibid.;* Bülow to Tschirschky, Feb. 4, 1905 (6091), *ibid.;* Büchsel memo, Feb. 4, 1905, II. Japan 11[d] g.g.

[58] Mühlberg memo, Feb. 2, 1905 (6090), Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., VI; Büchsel memo, Feb. 4, 1905, II. Japan 11[d] g.g.

[59] Tschirschky to Bülow, Feb. 4, 1905, Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., VI; Tschirschky to Bülow, Feb. 6, 1905, *ibid.;* Tschirschky to FO, Feb. 13, 1905, *ibid.*

[60] Nicholas to Wilhelm, Feb. 14, 1905, *GP,* item 6092, 271.

[61] Bülow to Wilhelm, Feb. 14, 1905, *ibid.,* item 6093, 271–72.

[62] Nicholas to Wilhelm, Feb. 14, 1905, *ibid.,* item 6094, 271; Wilhelm to Nicholas, Feb. 15, 1905, *ibid.,* item 6096, 272.

[63] Bülow to Tschirschky, Feb. 14, 1905, Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., VI; memo by Holstein, Feb. 15, 1905, *ibid.*

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continue and resulted eventually in the sale of eleven HAPAG colliers.[64]

Now that he was a free agent, Ballin quickly gave orders for the HAPAG colliers at Madagascar to prepare for the voyage across the Indian Ocean. The Russians consented to the various safeguards the general director had earlier demanded, and Rozhdestvenski agreed that the HAPAG ships would coal only as far as Saigon rather than Chusan.[65] Finally, the Russian government posted a bond, though only for thirty million marks, with a German bank for the HAPAG's account.[66] Rozhdestvenski was at last free to sail for Vladivostok.

Because the admiral encountered delays readying his ships, it was not until mid-March that the Baltic Squadron raised anchor at Nossi-Bé. After crossing the Indian Ocean, the fleet made its way cautiously through the Straits of Singapore and on April 14 steamed into Camranh Bay, northeast of Saigon, where four HAPAG colliers were waiting. The Russians were treated with indulgence by French officials and leisurely coaled for a week before leaving. On April 22 the final coaling from the German ships took place outside Camranh, after which the colliers turned back toward Saigon. For the 2,800 miles that remained to Vladivostok, the Russians would have to depend for coal on their own auxiliaries and on what their men-of-war could carry.

In early May, Rozhdestvenski, now joined by another squadron that had left Russia in February, advanced into the East China Sea. On May 27 Rozhdestvenski and Togo confronted one another off the island of Tsushima in the straits between Korea and Japan. When the battle ended late on the following day, the Russian fleet was almost totally destroyed, and Rozhdestvenski, seriously wounded in the head, was a prisoner aboard one of Togo's ships.

[64] Contract with Wachter & Co., Feb. 21, 1905, HAPAG, "Contract Buch"; Holstein memo, Feb. 15, 1905, Japan No. 20, No. 7, secr., VI; Tschirschky to FO, Feb. 17, 1905, *ibid.*, VII; Tschirschky to Bülow, Feb. 27, 1905, *ibid.*; Mühlberg to Tschirschky, Feb. 18, 1905, *ibid.*; Schonburg (Tschirschky's assistant) to Bülow, Mar. 6, 9, 1905, *ibid.*

[65] Memo by Holstein, Feb. 15, 1905, *ibid.*, VI; Tschirschky to FO, Feb. 15, 1905, *ibid.*; Mühlberg memo, Feb. 16, 1905 (6097), *ibid.*; Richthofen to Tschirschky, June 20, 1905, *ibid.*, VII; HAPAG memo, dated Feb. 12, 1906, II. Japan 11[d] g.g.

[66] *Bürgschaft* with Mendelssohn & Co., Feb. 15, 1905, HAPAG, "Contract Buch."

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Hitler's Image of the United States

GERHARD L. WEINBERG*

A SIGNIFICANT factor in the understanding of international relations is the perception of countries and issues by those in a position to make policy. The more policy formulation is restricted to one man or a small group, the more important this factor becomes. The conduct of foreign relations by a dictator can often be understood only by reference to his image of the outside world, an image that acts as a filter distorting the realities he sees. This is particularly true for Adolf Hitler whose views on most matters changed very little during his adult life, and who was little affected by experience which leads other men to adjust erroneous perceptions to facts.

Because of its emphasis on the unearthing of new documentary evidence, the study of diplomatic history has often tended to attempt a reconstruction of events on the basis of knowledge subsequently attained by the scholar though contemporaneously unknown to the actors. Even when allowance for this factor has been made, the information known at any given time is frequently seen only through the eyes of the writer without regard to the perception of that information by the man making the decisions. This attempt to trace Hitler's image of the United States is designed to illustrate an avenue for examining the diplomatic history of the recent past. This essay, therefore, will be no survey of German-American relations, but an analysis of the particular and personal perspective of Adolf Hitler on the United States and the implications of his image of America for his policies.

Hitler did not leave an extensive correspondence with friends, relatives, and officials, which might provide a basis for assessing his attitudes. Nor, to judge by available evidence, did he make marginal comments on papers submitted to him for information or decision. He left two books, a few memorandums, a small number of private documents. All the rest consists of public speeches and private talk, recorded by others; even the books are really speeches reduced to writing and provided with some continuity. Since Hitler never earned a reputation for excessive veracity, the scholar faces the question of the reliability of his evidence.

There is a rule of thumb that can be used to good advantage. Before 1933

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Hitler talked and wrote to gain understanding and support. Blunt, outspoken, and revealing to an extent he later regretted, this evidence of Hitler's views can generally be taken as accurate. After 1933 he was confronted with the concrete problems of a man in power and used his public utterances for tactical purposes, mixing open expressions of his views with deception to suit the occasion. From 1933 on, therefore, it is safer to depend on his secret directives and confidential talks to his friends, associates, and officials. Though at times concealing his thoughts even from those closest to him, he was, nevertheless, an inveterate talker who continued behind closed doors the practice of speaking rather openly that he had once started in the Vienna home for men. Where these sources fail us, the plans initiated in accordance with directives then secret, but now known to us, can be used to fill the remaining gaps.

During the First World War and the years immediately thereafter, Hitler appears to have given little thought to the United States. Like many German youngsters then and since, Hitler's youthful imagination had once been fired by Karl May's novels about American Indians,[1] but Hitler's world in the first years of his political activity hardly extended beyond the Atlantic. As one student of the earliest National Socialist concepts of foreign policy has concluded: "The astounding narrowness of his horizon is also evidenced by the fact that Hitler hardly noticed a world power like the United States of America."[2] Interested like so many Germans in explaining that Germany had really won the war, rather than trying to understand its defeat, he paid no particular attention to American matters beyond constantly repeating the condemnations of President Wilson that were then fashionable in Germany. It is true that one of Hitler's traveling fund raisers went to Detroit in 1924 to try to obtain money from Henry Ford, who had attracted National Socialist attention by his anti-Semitic publications, but Ford turned him down.[3] Although dealing at length with questions of foreign policy, Hitler's first book, *Mein Kampf,* published originally in two volumes in 1925–1926, contains only some incidental references to the United States in its 782 pages. Nevertheless, something has to be said about this book, since Hitler's later views of the United States were, so to speak, grafted onto the schemes and visions propounded therein.

Mixing a crude simplification of social Darwinism with authoritarian

[1] *Hitler's Table Talk, 1941–1944,* ed. Hugh R. Trevor-Roper (London, 1953), 316–17 (entry for Feb. 17, 1942); cf. *ibid.,* 707 (June 15, 1943).

[2] Günter Schubert, *Anfänge nationalsozialistischer Aussenpolitik* (Cologne, 1963), 65.

[3] Kurt G. W. Ludecke, *I Knew Hitler* (New York, 1937), 192–201; Ernst Hanfstaengl, *Hitler, The Missing Years* (London, 1957), 41.

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views, a general inversion of historical reality, and some fantasies about the Germans and other peoples, Hitler expounded a world view based on the assumption that Germans were somehow superior to all others. They would maintain their superiority first by eliminating the allegedly alien Jewish element in their midst, and second by assuring themselves of adequate space on which to live and proliferate as farmers. This meant the conquest of space in Eastern Europe. The people in that space would be killed or expelled: the soil, not the people, was to be Germanized. Since this program would require war with Russia, the fact that the Communists had taken over in that country was a stroke of good fortune in Hitler's eyes because they had removed the only element in Russian society, the allegedly Germanic state-forming upper class, that might have made for effective opposition. Before this war could be launched, however, it would be necessary to make war on the eternal enemy France, a venture in which Italy and possibly Great Britain were expected to participate. There was thus a threefold program: first, an internal division of Germany into those Hitler considered the real Germans and those who could not qualify; second, a war against France; and third, after that war had freed Germany from the threat to its rear, a war against Russia. This program, expounded at length in *Mein Kampf,* was also the main theme of Hitler's public speeches in the 1920's. With politics as his full-time occupation, he preached this same set of ideas in every town where he could find listeners—listeners, it may be added, who paid to hear this nonsense expounded.

A few years later, in the summer of 1928 as is now known, Hitler dictated a second book. Since in that manuscript there are very extensive references to the United States, one must first examine the factors that seem to have drawn his attention to the subject. What evidence there is suggests that his interest in economic and industrial development, and particularly the automobile industry, was in large part responsible. The years since the writing of *Mein Kampf* had been good, economically. German production, employment, and income were rising substantially, and Hitler, whose political chances were hardly helped by this fact, gave the subject some careful thought. In the first place, the availability of a large land area now appeared to him to have industrial as well as agricultural advantages for the people living there. This was illustrated by the second factor: the conspicuous presence of large numbers of American automobiles in Germany. Always intrigued by things connected with roads and motor vehicles,[4] Hitler

[4] *Ibid.*, 44; Paul Kluke, "Hitler und das Volkswagenprojekt," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte,* VIII (Oct. 1960), 341–83.

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was greatly impressed by the fact that in spite of its high wages and great distance, the American automobile industry was so obviously successful in the European market. This was owing, he thought, to America's great space, resources, and domestic market.[5]

Once the United States had caught his attention, the whole apparatus of Hitler's racial determinism had to be applied to explaining that country. Somehow it had to be integrated into his view of the universe. His analysis was as follows: The United States was the product of emigration from Europe. Who had emigrated? Always the most restless, those with the greatest initiative, and therefore the best in each country. Who were the best in each country? Why, of course, the Nordic element. The United States was, therefore, the great meeting place of the Nordics, who were protecting their racial purity by excluding Asiatics and by other immigration legislation. This legislation had previously caught Hitler's attention as shown by one of his earliest reported references to the United States and in *Mein Kampf*.[6] Far from being the melting pot Americans imagined it to be, the United States was in fact a homogeneous country, a gathering in of the finest Nordic racial stock from each European country. This not only explained why Americans had made such good use of their living space; it also led to the conclusion that they were exceedingly dangerous people. With a racial headstart over everyone else—especially the European countries drained of their best blood by the same process that had made America strong—and with a vast living space on which to proliferate, the Americans were the real threat to German predominance in the world. Hitler's deduction from this analysis was simple: only a Eurasian empire under German domination could successfully cope with this menace. A third war was now added to the original two. After the first two wars had enabled it to construct a continental empire from the Atlantic to the Urals, Germany would take on the United States. One of the major tasks to be performed by the National Socialist movement, therefore, must be the preparation of Germany for this conflict.[7]

In the years between 1928 and 1933 Hitler was engaged in the bitter

[5] *Hitlers Zweites Buch, Ein Dokument aus dem Jahr 1928,* ed. Gerhard L. Weinberg (Stuttgart, 1961), 123; *Adolf Hitler in Franken, Reden aus der Kampfzeit,* ed. Heinz Preis (Nuremberg, 1939), 96. For later references to the same subject, see *Hitler's Table Talk,* ed. Trevor-Roper, 279, 415 (entries for Feb. 2, Apr. 9, 1942).

[6] Hitler speech of Dec. 10, 1919, in "Hitler als Parteiredner im Jahre 1920," ed. Reginald H. Phelps, *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte,* XI (July 1963), 290; Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (2 vols., Munich, 1933 printing), II, 490.

[7] *Hitlers Zweites Buch,* ed. Weinberg, 123–32. The discussion of Hitler's view of the United States in Konrad Heiden, *Der Fuehrer, Hitler's Rise to Power* (Boston, 1944), 321–25, is based on Hitler's speeches of this period, which contain many passages similar to those in the second book.

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struggle for power in Germany, a struggle that he won, but that hardly allowed him much time for reflection on areas in any case peripheral to his major concerns. During the long and violent 1929 campaign against the Young plan, for example, Hitler referred to the United States only once, repeating his views about the combined effects of emigration from Germany and the selectivity of American immigration policy.[8] All his attention was focused on immediate domestic problems. The next period for which there is again evidence on his thoughts about the United States is the time immediately following his assumption of power. Since in the years 1933–1934 and during the subsequent decade his evaluation of the United States was entirely negative, by contrast with the analysis just presented, an effort must be made to explain this reversal. Once again the evidence indicates that the economic situation affected Hitler's thinking. The world depression was on everyone's mind, and it was a prominent subject of international negotiations. Hitler himself was invited to go to Washington to discuss the forthcoming London World Economic Conference, but declined and sent Hjalmar Schacht instead.[9] It is clear, however, that Hitler was tremendously impressed by the fact and impact of economic depression in the United States. This came to be one of his favorite topics and a major theme of National Socialist propaganda. While it is true that the United States recovered from the depression more slowly than other industrial countries, Hitler was still talking about the supposed thirteen million unemployed in America well into the 1940's.[10] He saw the movie *Grapes of Wrath* several times and assumed that it represented the whole United States for all time.

This new perspective required a new analysis in terms of Hitler's racial fantasies. He now concluded that the United States was a racial mixture after all—a mixture from all over, including Negroes and Jews, and what were undoubtedly the inferior exiles from every country except Germany. This mongrel society, in which the scum naturally floated to the top, could not possibly construct a sound economy, create an indigenous culture, or operate a successful political system. No wonder they were thrown into a panic by Orson Welles's reports on the arrival of invaders from Mars.[11]

[8] Hitler's concluding speech at the *Reichsparteitag* on Aug. 5, 1929, *Völkischer Beobachter*, Aug. 7, 1929.

[9] Gerhard L. Weinberg, "Schachts Besuch in den USA im Jahre 1933," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, XI (Apr. 1963), 166–80.

[10] See *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier 1941–1942*, ed. Gerhard Ritter (Bonn, 1951), 163 (entry for June 3, 1942).

[11] *Hitlers Lagebesprechungen, Die Protokollfragmente seiner militärischen Konferenzen 1942–1945*, ed. Helmut Heiber (Stuttgart, 1962), 548.

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The only hope in America's past had been smashed when the wrong side won the Civil War. As Hitler put it:

> This is the last death-rattle of a corrupt and outworn system. . . . Since the Civil War, in which the Southern States were conquered against all historical logic and sound sense, the Americans have been in a condition of political and popular [i.e., racial] decay. In that war, it was not the Southern States, but the American people themselves who were conquered. In the spurious blossoming of economic prosperity and power politics, America has ever since been drawn deeper into the mire of self-destruction. . . . The beginnings of a great new social order based on the principle of slavery and inequality were destroyed in that war, and with them also the embryo of a future truly great America that would not have been ruled by a corrupt caste of tradesmen, but by a real *Herren*-class that would have swept away all the falsities of liberty and equality.[12]

If this was what had happened to America's past, the only hope for its future lay in the German element that might someday take over. To quote Hitler once more: "The German component of the American people will be the source of its political and mental resurrection."[13]

This analysis in turn led to different conclusions. The United States was hopelessly weak and could not interfere in any way with the realization of Hitler's plans. Deprived by its racial decomposition of the ability to produce an effective military force,[14] it would eventually fall naturally within a German empire that would also include Mexico (in which Hitler was interested because of the oil resources),[15] and such portions of South America as caught his fancy. In this process, the German-Americans as well as those of German descent in Latin America could play an important role if they would only awake to their true destiny.[16]

Thus Hitler went forward in the 1930's unconcerned about and generally uninterested in the United States.[17] In Hitler's secret memorandum on the Four-Year Plan, written in the summer of 1936, as in the famous Hossbach Memorandum on Hitler's revelation of his aggressive intentions in November 1937, there are no references to any possibly significant role that the United States might ever play. In the former, it is passed over as

[12] Hermann Rauschning, *The Voice of Destruction* (New York, 1940), 68–69.
[13] *Ibid.*, 70.
[14] *Ibid.*, 71.
[15] For a summary of German efforts to obtain oil concessions in Mexico, see *Oberkommando der Kriegsmarine*, "A IV Nr. 1813, Betr. Ölversorgung der Kriegsmarine," Apr. 29, 1940, Nuremberg Doc. 984-PS.
[16] Rauschning, *Voice of Destruction*, 61–64.
[17] Louis P. Lochner, *What about Germany?* (New York, 1943), 47; see also Joachim Remak, "Hitlers Amerikapolitik," *Aussenpolitik*, VI (Feb. 1955), 706–14. Hitler later commented disparagingly on Norman Davis, the only prominent emissary of Roosevelt whom he met during those years. (*Hitlers Tischgespräche*, ed. Ritter, 87 [entry for May 17, 1942].)

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impotent vis-à-vis the Soviet Union; in the latter, it is overlooked as any factor at all.[18] In the spring of 1938, when reminded of American influence in the Far East, Hitler contemptuously asserted that the United States was incapable of waging war and would not dare go beyond empty gestures in international affairs.[19]

These views were undoubtedly reinforced by the continuing underestimation of American military potential by Germany's military leaders in general, and by the German military attaché in Washington in particular. General Friedrich von Bötticher was one of the very few men on whose reporting Hitler ever made a favorable comment,[20] doubtless because it conformed to Hitler's expectations. Bötticher's reports were not always entirely unreasonable, but they did show the United States in a false light, primarily for three reasons: first, his preoccupation with fantasies about the role of Jews in American life, which fitted perfectly with Hitler's own ideas; second, Bötticher's being somewhat misled by the courtesy that Americans extend to an individual foreigner visiting the country regardless of their attitude toward the country from which he comes; and third, Bötticher's contact with pro-German elements in the American army, and especially with General Douglas MacArthur, then Chief of Staff, whom Bötticher reported as showing great sympathy for German policy in the years 1933–1936.[21]

Public opinion in the United States, and particularly the American press, which showed open disapproval of Germany's racial policies, merely confirmed Hitler's evaluation of American degeneracy. In his eyes, the Americans were not only too stupid to get in out of the rain; they even objected to anyone who did. Furthermore, by racial arithmetic Hitler concluded in November 1937 that the United States was held together by fewer than twenty million Anglo-Saxons,[22] and in November 1938 that there were fewer than sixty million persons of valuable racial stock in the United States.[23] Thus even in regard to population Germany was far ahead, es-

[18] The Four-Year Plan memorandum in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte,* III (Apr. 1955), 204–10; the Hossbach Memorandum in *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (42 vols., Nuremberg, 1946–48), XXV, 402–13. It should be noted that the German army chief of staff, General Ludwig Beck, in his comments on the Hossbach Memorandum, did call attention to the United States. (Wolfgang Foerster, *Ein General kämpft gegen den Krieg, Aus den nachgelassenen Papieren des Generalstabchefs Ludwig Beck* [Munich, 1949], 63.)

[19] Erich Kordt, *Wahn und Wirklichkeit* (2d ed., Stuttgart, 1948), 141.

[20] *Hitler's Table Talk,* ed. Trevor-Roper, 489 (entry for May 18, 1942).

[21] Reports of Bötticher, 1933–1936, in German Foreign Ministry microfilm, Ser. 5863, National Archives Microcopy T-120, container 2741, frames E 428919–429450; see, e.g., his report on a talk with MacArthur on Aug. 6, 1934 (frames E 429184–87) and the report of May 13, 1935 (frames E 429246–49).

[22] Hitler speech of Nov. 23, 1937, in *Hitlers Tischgespräche,* ed. Ritter, 443.

[23] "Rede Hitlers vor der deutschen Presse, 10 November 1938," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeit-*

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pecially after the annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland. It is not surprising that with such an outlook Hitler was receptive to reports containing the wildest distortions of American reality.[24] Even impressions from America reported by Fritz Wiedemann, his adjutant and long-time associate, could not efface such nonsense.[25]

The negative assessment of America's power potential was further reinforced by the neutrality legislation. These laws, designed to remove what some people thought had been the causes of America's entry into World War I, only encouraged Hitler to start World War II by assuring him that none of his prospective European enemies would be able to secure supplies from across the Atlantic even by purchase. As Hitler was to put it in an exposé for his military leaders: "Because of its neutrality laws, America is not dangerous to us."[26] Contemplating war at a gathering in March 1939, he envisaged a conquest of the United States following the defeat of Britain and France.[27] His cavalier dimissal of Roosevelt's peace appeal of April 1939 thus merely reflected his actual assessment of the power potential of the United States. His attempt to ridicule the United States in the public glare of a *Reichstag* session was an echo of his private thoughts.

The outbreak and early course of the war again confirmed Hitler's low assessment of American strength and potential. There is a symbolic coincidence in the fact that right after President Roosevelt's urgent appeal to the belligerents to refrain from bombing civilians, German bombs damaged the residence of the American ambassador to Poland. Confident that isolationist sentiment would keep the United States neutral for some time,

geschichte, VI (Apr. 1958), 191. For a sample of this type of arithmetic in the "scholarly" world, see Erwin Zühlke and Erich Michaelsen, "Der Anteil der Deutschstämmigen im Offizierkorps der Vereinigten Staaten," *Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung,* VI (Dec. 1942), 659–65.

[24] Franz Willuhn (*Reichskanzlei* official) to Joachim von Ribbentrop and Joseph Goebbels, Oct. 15, 1937, *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945,* Ser. D (19 vols., Washington, D. C., 1949–), I, No. 416. This document refers to Hitler's great interest in a thirty-six-page report on the US that lists Senators William Borah, George Norris, and Gerald P. Nye as among the "Reds" allegedly close to Roosevelt, expresses alarm over the appointment of a Negro to the registry of deeds office in the District of Columbia, and warns about the Bolshevization of the American Indians! (German Foreign Ministry microfilm, Ser. 5264, National Archives Microcopy T-120, container 2568, frames E 315836–72.)

[25] Ernst von Weizsäcker to Dieckhoff, Jan. 18, 1938, *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945,* Ser. D, I, No. 433.

[26] Hitler speech of Nov. 23, 1939, *Trial of the Major War Criminals,* XXVI, 331. On the neutrality laws, see Robert A. Divine, *The Illusion of Neutrality* (Chicago, 1962). Hitler's view of neutrality in *Hitlers Zweites Buch,* ed. Weinberg, Chap. x; also Gert Buchheit, *Hitler der Feldherr* (Rastatt, 1958), 526.

[27] William Bullitt to Cordell Hull, telegram 565, Mar. 25, 1939 (State Department Decimal File 740.00/684); Bullitt to Hull, telegram 2050, Sept. 19, 1939, in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1939* (5 vols., Washington, D. C., 1955–57), I, 672–74. This is the report of an alleged participant at the meeting. Internal evidence speaks for the credibility of the account.

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Hitler determined to strike in the west quickly.[28] By direct subsidy and special propaganda themes, Germany attempted to strengthen the isolationist element in America.[29] The pro-Allied sympathies and hopes of a large segment of the American public, on the other hand, had neither brought down any of his dive bombers nor stopped one of his tanks. Surveying the world in triumph after the fall of France in June 1940, Hitler and his associates were confident that they could cope with the United States easily enough. Looking beyond the surrender of Great Britain that appeared imminent to them, they planned to construct thereafter a large navy of battleships that would enable them to move effectively against the United States in the only sphere of power that might present a problem. Simultaneously, the defeat of France seemed also to open the way to German naval bases on and off the coast of Northwest Africa for appropriate use by the prospective battle fleet.[30]

All these lovely prospects were replaced by other plans in the late summer and fall of 1940, as Britain refused to give in. Trying to understand the reasons for such foolhardy unwillingness to acknowledge defeat, Hitler concluded that the British must expect others to fight for them in the future as replacements for the French. Assuming that the Russians and Americans provided this distant hope for England, he decided to take this opportunity to attack Russia. After the German victory in the west, this looked like a simple undertaking that could be accomplished in a few weeks. It would not only destroy Britain's hope of aid from that quarter, but it would immobilize the United States as well. As Hitler put it: "Britain's hope lies in Russia and the United States. If Russia drops out of the picture, America, too, is lost for Britain, because elimination of Russia would tremendously increase Japan's power in the Far East. Russia is the Far Eastern sword of Britain

[28] Memo of Hitler, Oct. 9, 1939, *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, XXXVII, 472. In explaining to his highest military leaders why Germany should strike in the west soon, rather than wait, Hitler said: "Der Versuch gewisser Kreise der U.S.A., den Kontinent in eine deutschfeindliche Richtung zu führen, ist im Augenblick sicher ergebnislos, kann aber in der Zukunft doch noch zu dem gewünschten Erfolg führen. Auch hier ist die Zeit als gegen Deutschland arbeitend anzusehen."

[29] Lothar Gruchmann, *Nationalsozialistische Grossraumordnung, Die Konstruktion einer "deutschen Monroe-Doktrin"* (Stuttgart, 1962); Hans Louis Trefousse, *Germany and American Neutrality, 1939–1941* (New York, 1951), 44–45, 110, 133; *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945*, Ser. D, IX, Nos. 31, 158, 195, 197, 417, 422, 441, 455, 492, 493, X, Nos. 39, 112, 186, 300, XI, Nos. 2, 721, XII, Nos. 34, 411, 563.

[30] Fuehrer Conferences on Naval Affairs, July 11, 1940, *Brassey's Naval Annual 1948* (New York, 1948), 115; Gerhard L. Weinberg, "German Colonial Plans and Policies 1938–1942," in *Geschichte und Gegenwartsbewusstsein: Historische Betrachtungen und Untersuchungen, Festschrift für Hans Rothfels zum 70. Geburtstag, dargebracht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*, ed. Waldemar Besson and Friedrich Frhr. Hiller v. Gaertringen (Göttingen, 1963), 474 and n. 48. For a general survey of Hitler's world-wide interests and ambitions, see the excellent contribution by Günter Moltmann, "Weltherrschaftsideen Hitlers," in *Europa und Übersee: Festschrift für Egmont Zechlin*, ed. Otto Brunner and Dietrich Gerhard (Hamburg, 1961), 197–240.

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and the United States, pointed at Japan." In other words, once Japan was relieved of the Russian threat at its back door, it would move ruthlessly forward in Asia, thereby keeping the United States occupied in the Pacific.[31]

If the first part of Hitler's speculation proved illusory, in that the war against Russia turned out to be neither as short nor as simple as he had expected, his anticipations about Far Eastern events proved at least partially correct. The collapse or weakening of those European powers with colonial possessions in the Far East encouraged Japan to move southward in the summer and fall of 1940, while the German attack on the Soviet Union in the following year emboldened Japan even more.

It is true that in urging Japan to move forward in Asia, Germany preferred that the Japanese concentrate on Great Britain, while leaving the United States alone for the time being. The Tripartite Pact of September 1940 was in part designed to frighten the United States from intervention in the conflict, but the hasty conclusion of the treaty without regard to the details of the text[32] indicates that the propaganda and publicity role of the pact was more important in German eyes.[33] While the pact negotiations were in progress, Hitler himself explained to his generals that America's armament program would not be effective until 1945,[34] that is, until long after he expected the war to have ended.

The Japanese, however, did not wish to risk moving into Southeast Asia without removing the danger of a threatening American fleet on the flank of their route south. It was under these circumstances that they asked their German and Italian associates in the first days of December 1941 if they too would declare war on the United States if Japan became involved in such a conflict. Although not bound to an affirmative answer by their treaties with Japan, both replied that they would; immediately after Pearl Harbor they did so.[35] The possibility that encouragement of Japan to move south

[31] Gerhard L. Weinberg, *Germany and the Soviet Union, 1939–1941* (Leiden, 1954), 114–17. The quotation is from the Franz Halder diary for July 31, 1940.

[32] Johanna M. Menzel, "Der geheime deutsch-japanische Notenaustausch zum Dreimächtepakt," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte,* V (Apr. 1957), 182–93.

[33] This is also the view of Theo Sommer's monograph, *Deutschland und Japan zwischen den Mächten, Vom Antikominternpakt zum Dreimächtepakt, Eine Studie zur diplomatischen Vorgeschichte des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Tübingen, 1962).

[34] Franz Halder, *Kriegstagebuch, Tägliche Aufzeichnungen des Chefs des Generalstabes des Heeres, 1939–1942,* ed. Hans-Adolf Jacobsen (3 vols., Stuttgart, 1962–), II, 98 (entry for Sept. 14, 1940).

[35] Statement by Ribbentrop, Aug. 2, 1945, Files of the Foreign Studies Branch of the Office of the Chief of Military History; Hans Louis Trefousse, "Germany and Pearl Harbor," *Far Eastern Quarterly,* XI (Nov. 1951), 35–50. The delay of a few days in the German answer, on which Trefousse and others have commented, is easily explained by Hitler's temporary absence from his East Prussian headquarters because of a crisis on the southern part of the eastern front. The moment Hitler returned, he instructed Ribbentrop to give an affirmative answer. Since the Japanese had not told the Germans the date of the intended attack on Pearl

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might lead to drastic complications with the United States had been canvassed by Hitler and his associates at least as early as January 1941. Hitler had then considered the risk worth taking, partly because he believed that the economic potential of a German dominated Europe was in any case greater than the "limited possibilities found in Britain and America."[36] In other words, the same step that would trigger Japan's move against Singapore—namely the German invasion of Russia—would provide Germany with the industrial and agricultural prerequisites for dealing with the American intervention that Japan's action might precipitate. On December 4, 1941, the Chicago *Tribune* and Washington *Daily Herald* published major portions of the American "Victory Program," the plan by which the United States hoped to crush Germany if the two countries were involved in war under precisely those circumstances Hitler had postulated. The only effect of this revelation on Hitler was that it provided him with additional material for his speech declaring war on the United States.[37]

It is true that during 1941 Hitler had hoped to postpone war with America. In the spring he had canvassed with Schacht the possibility of the latter going on a propaganda mission to the United States.[38] Throughout the winter of 1940–1941 Admiral Erich Raeder had urged drastic steps, at the risk of war, against American shipping; Hitler had regularly put him off, preferring to concentrate on the preparations against Russia.[39] On June 21, 1941, the day before the attack on Russia, Hitler had explained that he wanted no incidents with the United States for a few weeks because the success of the invasion would have good effects on Japan and hence on the United States.[40] Even American occupation of Iceland early in July did not shake Hitler's belief that imminent victory in the east would change the whole situation.[41] On

Harbor, the urgency of a reply was not as apparent to the latter as to the former. (See Galeazzo Ciano, *The Ciano Diaries, 1939–1943,* ed. Hugh Gibson [New York, 1946], 414 [entry for Dec. 3, 1941]; and *Sekretär des Führers,* "Daten aus alten Notizbüchern," 80, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.)

[36] Fuehrer Conferences on Naval Affairs, Jan. 8–9, 1941, *Brassey's Naval Annual 1948,* 171–72. It should be noted that Hitler welcomed the Russo-Japanese pact of April 1941 as turning Japan from Vladivostok to Singapore. (*Ibid.,* 193.)

[37] Mark Skinner Watson, *Chief of Staff: Prewar Plans and Preparations* (Washington, D. C., 1950), 359 and n. 77, 79; Hitler speech of Dec. 11, 1941, in *Der Grossdeutsche Freiheitskampf, Reden Adolf Hitlers,* ed. Philipp Bouhler (3 vols., Munich, 1940–42), III, 145; see also Washington *Post,* Jan. 6, 1963.

[38] Ulrich von Hassell, *Vom andern Deutschland, Aus den nachgelassenen Tagebüchern, 1938–1944* (Zurich, 1946), 225, 236 (entries for Sept. 3, Nov. 30, 1941). The reference in Schacht's memoirs is characteristically inaccurate: he places the incident in February, but refers as reason for declining to go to the previous passage of the Lend-Lease Act, which took place in March. (Hjalmar Schacht, *76 Jahre meines Lebens* [Bad Wörishofen, 1953], 520–21; see also Trefousse, *Germany and American Neutrality,* 82.)

[39] Fuehrer Conferences on Naval Affairs, Dec. 27, 1940, *Brassey's Naval Annual 1948,* 161, 177 (Feb. 4, 1941), 183–84 (Mar. 18, 1941), 192–93 (Apr. 20, 1941). As early as October 10, 1939, Raeder had been prepared to risk the US intervention he considered inevitable. (*Ibid.,* 46.)

[40] *Ibid.,* 220.

[41] *Ibid.,* 221.

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July 25 he reiterated his desire to postpone incidents, adding that "after the Eastern Campaign he reserves the right to take severe action against the U.S.A. as well."[42] The eastern campaign continued into the fall of 1941, and Raeder again pressured for drastic steps against American shipping, especially after Roosevelt's shoot on sight order of September 11. Hitler, however, was still convinced that Russia would collapse shortly and that incidents with the United States should, therefore, be avoided until the middle of October.[43] At the beginning of October, he thought that victory had indeed been attained,[44] but by late November, even before the fateful question came from Tokyo, Hitler had already recognized that the war in the east would continue at least into the following year and had informed Joachim von Ribbentrop of his willingness to go to war with the United States.[45] After all, most of Europe was in fact under his control, and as he had just explained to the party's faithful, the European area working for his side already included more than 350,000,000 people compared with America's mere 125,000,000.[46]

Hitler's view was that the United States was really a feeble country with a loud mouth.[47] The Americans were probably doing as much by aiding Britain as they would ever be able to do;[48] thus there was no longer any point in waiting for the United States to intervene at its convenience. There was, furthermore, the danger that Japan might make a deal with the United States if not supported by its allies.[49] In any case, as the German Foreign Minister explained to one of his associates: "A great power does not allow itself to be declared war on; it declares war itself."[50]

All the evidence indicates that the outbreak of war between Germany and the United States left Hitler's view of America unchanged. One month

[42] *Ibid.*, 222.

[43] *Ibid.*, 232–33 (Sept. 17, 1941).

[44] Hitler speech of Oct. 3, 1941, in *Der Grossdeutsche Freiheitskampf*, ed. Bouhler, III, 79; Otto Dietrich, *12 Jahre mit Hitler* (Cologne, 1955), 101–102; Rudolf Semmler, *Goebbels—The Man Next to Hitler* (London, 1947), 54–56.

[45] Hiroshi Oshima to the Japanese Foreign Ministry, Nov. 29, 1941, United States, Congress, *Pearl Harbor Attack, Hearings before the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack* (39 vols., Washington, D. C., 1946), XII, 200–202. Hitler spent a few days in Berlin at the end of November in connection with the funeral of General Ernst Udet and a luncheon on November 27 commemorating renewal of the Anti-Comintern Pact. He returned to East Prussia on November 28, following the funeral ceremonies for Colonel Werner Mölders. (*Sekretär des Führers*, "Daten aus alten Notizbüchern," 80.) Oshima was transmitting what Ribbentrop had told him about Hitler's views at that time.

[46] Hitler speech of Nov. 8, 1941, in *Der Grossdeutsche Freiheitskampf*, ed. Bouhler, III, 101.

[47] See Hitler's comments to Yosuke Matsuoka, Apr. 4, 1941, *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945*, Ser. D, XII, No. 266.

[48] The former German ambassador to the United States, Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff, tried unsuccessfully to counter this line of argument. (*Ibid.*, XI, No. 633.) Bötticher's views, especially on lend-lease, were again more like Hitler's. (*Ibid.*, XII, Nos. 88, 148, 212.)

[49] Trefousse, *Germany and American Neutrality*, 155.

[50] Ernst von Weizsäcker, *Erinnerungen* (Munich, 1950), 328.

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after Pearl Harbor he said: "I'll never believe that an American can fight like a hero."[51] He expressed his "feelings of hatred and deep repugnance" for Americanism and added: "I don't see much future for the Americans. In my view it's a decayed country."[52] That America's entrance into the war might seriously affect its outcome does not seem to have occurred to him. On the contrary, he was overjoyed at Japan's advances in the Pacific and the continued successes of his U-boats in the Atlantic. He was certainly not worried about American leadership: one could become colonel more easily in the American than lieutenant in the German Army;[53] while America's civilian leaders were a group of "nitwits" (*Strohköpfe*).[54] Occasionally Hitler gave vent to his deep hatred of Roosevelt;[55] but convinced of America's inherent inferiority, he refused to be daunted by the prospect of massive American participation. The productivity of American industry—once the object of his envious admiration—was now proclaimed a figment of Roosevelt's imagination.[56]

The first major clash between American and German troops took place in Tunisia in February 1943. In an engagement near Kasserine Pass, the Americans initially suffered reverses; justly or unjustly, two American generals were dismissed for the army's failure to do as well as had been hoped. This episode naturally confirmed Hitler's conviction that the GI was no match for his own battle-hardened veterans.[57] The ultimate defeat of the Germans in Tunisia led to no revision in Hitler's evaluation. He similarly discounted the impact of American aid to its Allies.[58]

The Sicilian and Italian campaigns of 1943 brought no change in Hitler's views. Looking forward to a possible Allied invasion of Western Europe, Hitler was certain that the American troops "are not qualified to solve this problem. They can't do it. If they had troops with two years' combat experience, one would say they might do it, but they are all new outfits."[59]

[51] *Hitler's Table Talk*, ed. Trevor-Roper, 181 (Jan. 5, 1942); cf. *Hitlers Tischgespräche*, ed. Ritter, 112 (July 21, 1942).

[52] *Hitler's Table Talk*, ed. Trevor-Roper, 188 (Jan. 7, 1942).

[53] *Hitlers Tischgespräche*, ed. Ritter, 385 (Mar. 25, 1942).

[54] *Ibid.*, 87 (May 17, 1942).

[55] Albert Zoller, *Hitler privat, Erlebnisbericht seiner Geheimsekretärin* (Düsseldorf, 1949), 158.

[56] *Hitlers Tischgespräche*, ed. Ritter, 163 (July 2, 1942). The diary of Goebbels contains many references of this kind.

[57] Hitler conference of Mar. 3, 1943, in *Hitler Directs His War, The Secret Records of His Daily Military Conferences*, ed. Felix Gilbert (New York, 1950), 24; *Hitlers Lagebesprechungen*, ed. Heiber, 170–71; *Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht 1940–1945*, III, *1943*, ed. Walther Hubatsch (Frankfurt a.M., 1963), 1512.

[58] Hitler conference of Dec. 20, 1943 (?), *Hitlers Lagebesprechungen*, ed. Heiber, 433–44. In the same conference, Hitler expressed grave doubts about America's ability to finance its war effort. (*Ibid.*, 450.)

[59] *Ibid.*, 452; *Hitler Directs His War*, ed. Gilbert, 80.

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The Normandy invasion would have convinced any normal person that there was something wrong with the image of a weak America, unable to defend itself, incapable of mobilizing production, and unskilled in military affairs. The simultaneous rapid progress of American operations in the Pacific—the offensives on Biak and Saipan were mounted at about the same time as the Normandy invasion—might also have impressed a thinking observer. But Hitler was hardly a normal person, and reality was no longer allowed to intrude upon his world of dreams and illusions. As Germany's military situation deteriorated, he closed his eyes and ears to new impressions. He would no longer visit the front. He refused to look at Germany's cities as they sank into rubble and dust. He literally buried himself in his East Prussian bunker, where he alternated between interfering in the minutiae of military affairs and pontificating on the nature of the universe.

Germany's desperate exertions enabled it to survive the defeats of the summer and fall of 1944. Its last reserves would make possible one more blow. Hitler decided that nothing much could be accomplished on the eastern front, but the situation in the west looked different to him. There he thought himself confronted by the far weaker and more easily discouraged American and British forces. A successful blow at them might yet bring about a drastic change in the situation. What a land victory in the west had not accomplished in 1940 might still be attained. Thus Germany's last reserves were thrown into the Ardennes offensive, the Battle of the Bulge,[60] and a subsequent smaller offensive, only to be halted by the Americans and soon after shifted to the east to meet the Soviet winter offensive. If nothing else, this last attack in the west shows how persistently Hitler held to his negative evaluation of the United States. It is only fair to add that these views were long shared and reinforced by many of his top-level military advisers.[61] Certainly the vast quantity of German military records made available since the war contains few signs of real awareness of American military potential outside the purely industrial one. The recently published volumes of the war diary of the German high command's operations staff are most eloquent on this subject by their very silence, in almost two thousand pages for the years 1944–1945.[62]

[60] Forrest C. Pogue, *The Supreme Command* (Washington, D. C., 1954), Chap. xx; for a contemporary perspective, see Semmler, *Goebbels,* 168.

[61] Kordt, *Wahn und Wirklichkeit,* 142; comments by Alfred Jodl and others at the conference of Mar. 3, 1943, cited in note 57, above; see also the comments on the illusions of Germany's military leaders about American power being tied up in the Far East in the *Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht 1940–1945,* III, ed. Hubatsch, 1512–13.

[62] *Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht 1940–1945,* IV, *1944–45,* ed. Percy E. Schramm (Frankfurt a.M., 1961).

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In the last months of the war, Hitler's mind became increasingly clouded. How far his thoughts had strayed from the realm of reality is illustrated by his reaction to the news of Roosevelt's death. Totally ignorant of the facts of American life, he and his associates neither knew nor cared about the realities of the American system of succession. All they could think of was the death of the Russian Empress Elizabeth in 1762 that had saved Frederick the Great from defeat and Prussia from disaster at the last moment in the Seven Years' War. Here, they thought, was another such miracle—and there was no one to point out that it was a mirage.[63]

Hitler's beliefs had once demonstrated clearly that the United States was racially strong and a dangerous threat. Soon after, these same murky doctrines had revealed to him with equal clarity that the United States was weak and degenerate. These contradictory visions assailed him simultaneously in the last weeks of the war. On the one hand, faced by the streams of American bombers over Germany, he reverted to his earlier recognition of the potential of American industrial might.[64] He now asserted that it was the danger of this war potential looming in the distance that had made an early attack on Russia necessary,[65] and concluded that his war against the United States was a tragedy.[66] On the other hand, he insisted that the United States was an artificial society without soul, culture, or civilization[67] and maintained that "the fact that they [the Americans] combine the possession of such vast material power with so vast a lack of intelligence evokes the image of some child stricken with elephantiasis"; from which in turn he concluded that the United States was "a giant with feet of clay."[68] Even his evaluation of the German-Americans now swung between such extremes. Though they had allegedly lost their souls, these Germans were at one moment described as "the backbone of the country," retaining their characteristics of industry and hard work. Minutes later Hitler explained: "Transplant a German to Kiev, and he remains a perfect German. But transplant him to Miami, and you make a degenerate of him—in other words, an American."[69] Only the total domination of American policy by Jews remained a constant factor in his visions.

In those last macabre days in the Berlin bunker, Hitler could not make

[63] Semmler, *Goebbels*, 190–93.
[64] Hitler conference of Jan. 10, 1945, *Hitlers Lagebesprechungen*, ed. Heiber, 814–15.
[65] *The Testament of Adolf Hitler, The Hitler-Bormann Documents, February–April 1945*, ed. François Genoud (London, 1961), 64 (Feb. 15, 1945).
[66] *Ibid.*, 87 (Feb. 21, 1945).
[67] *Ibid.*, 43 (Feb. 7, 1945).
[68] *Ibid.*, 108 (Apr. 2, 1945).
[69] *Ibid.*, 45–46 (Feb. 7, 1945).

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up his mind which of the two images of America was right. We might conclude that the reason for this was that both were wrong, but that would involve substituting our standard of truth for his. By his standards—to which he clung as long as he lived—they were both right even though contradictory.

In a totalitarian state, such standards and images become the framework for policy formulation by the dictator. Since the negative assessment of American strength predominated in the years when Hitler was in a position to initiate events, and was supported rather than contradicted by a majority of his advisers, the underestimation of the United States can be seen to have reduced German caution in the 1930's and distorted German military estimates in the 1940's.

Hitler had wanted to divide Germany; he left it divided, though not the way he had intended. He had planned on three wars; he had them, all rolled into one, but they did not come out as he anticipated. The doctrines by which he lived and fought deceived him in death as in life. He committed suicide lest he be captured by the Russians; his last will ended up on display in the United States National Archives.[70]

[70] The recent publication by Saul Friedländer, *Hitler et les États-Unis (1939–1941)* (Geneva, 1963), supplements but does not alter the picture presented here.

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Use of the American Civil War in the Debate over Irish Home Rule

JOSEPH M. HERNON, JR.*

SOME of the most prominent Union supporters in the United Kingdom during the American Civil War, such as John Bright and William Forster, opposed Home Rule for Ireland in the 1880's, while W. E. Gladstone, who supported the Confederacy on states' rights principles, called for Irish Home Rule on the same grounds.[1] Although the connection between the issues in the Civil War and the Home Rule debate of the 1880's appears very tenuous, the Liberal Unionists used the war to buttress their arguments against Home Rule.

The states' rights issue of the Civil War was an interesting point of debate in the Home Rule controversy during the 1880's. Liberal Unionists asserted that Irish Home Rule would lead eventually to the complete separation of Ireland from Great Britain just as the principles of states' rights enabled the Confederate States to secede from the Union. The same issue of the *Times* in which Bright announced his opposition to Gladstone's Home Rule policy also carried a very interesting letter to the editor signed "A Student of History." The author compared the United Kingdom in 1886 to the United States at the outbreak of the Civil War and American support for Irish Home Rule to British support, especially Gladstone's, for the South during the Civil War:

> Every plea that has been advanced in behalf of our disintegration [the United Kingdom's] came with redoubled force to men [in the United States] who

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[1] Home Rule for Ireland followed logically from W. E. Gladstone's and John Acton's philosophy of states' rights. Analyzing the election of 1886 in a pamphlet, *The Irish Question* (London, 1886), 33–34, Gladstone wrote: "There are, within the United Kingdom, no less than four nationalities. Of these four nationalities, three have spoken for Irish autonomy in a tone yet more decided than the tone in which the fourth [England] has forbidden it. . . . This is not, then, a partnership of three kingdoms, or of four nationalities, upon equal terms. The vast preponderance in strength of one among them enables her to overbear the other three, and to reverse their combined judgment."

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from time immemorial had belonged to the "States Rights Party," who knew that every state of the Union had originally come into it as an "independent and sovereign state," who were asked whether they would not aid those who only demanded their ancient right to govern themselves. From the other side of the Atlantic, from old England, and through the mouth of Mr. Gladstone himself, then, as now, the advocate of disintegration, came just such pleas as are now reaching us from America.[2]

E. L. Godkin, an Anglo-Irishman who lived in the North during the war, pointed out how Liberal Unionists used the Civil War as an argument against Irish Home Rule:

Many of the opponents of home rule, too, point to the vigour with which the United States government put down the attempt made by the South to break up the Union as an example of the American love of "imperial unity," and of the spirit in which England should now meet the Irish demands for local autonomy.[3]

Godkin also compared the views of the Radical Republicans on Home Rule for the South during Reconstruction with the basic attitude of the Liberal opponents of Irish Home Rule:

I am very familiar with the controversy with them [the Radical Republicans], for I have taken some part in it ever since the passage of the reconstruction acts, and I know very well how they felt, and am sometimes greatly impressed by the similarity between their arguments and those of the opponents of Irish home rule. One of their fixed beliefs for many years, though it is now extinct, was that Southerners were so bent on rebelling again, and were generally so prone to rebellion, that the awful consequences of their last attempt in the loss of life and property, had made absolutely no impression on them. The Southerner was, in fact, in their eyes, what Mr. Gladstone says the Irishman is in the eyes of some Englishmen: "A *lusus naturae;* that justice, common sense, moderation, national prosperity had no meaning for him; that all he could appreciate was strife and perpetual dissension."[4]

The question of the preservation of imperial unity was especially im-

[2] London *Times,* June 24, 1886. Joseph Chamberlain, in his speech to the House of Commons on April 9, 1886, after resigning from Gladstone's government in opposition to the Home Rule bill, also recalled Gladstone's support for the Confederacy during the Civil War. Chamberlain claimed that Gladstone was making another mistake in favoring Irish Home Rule. (Thomas C. Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates,* 3d Ser. [356 vols., London, 1830–91], CCCIV, 1205–1206.) Gladstone's pro-South speech at Newcastle on October 7, 1862, which in 1896 he described as "an undoubted error, the most singular and palpable, I may add the least excusable of them all . . ." proved embarrassing to him throughout the remainder of his political career. It should be pointed out, however, that after declaring in 1864 that every British citizen was "morally entitled to come within the pale of the constitution," and after losing his seat from Oxford and winning one from South Lancashire in July 1865, Gladstone in 1866 publicly adopted Bright's view that the moral issue of slavery was the principal issue in the Civil War. For a revisionist interpretation of Gladstonian and British opinion on the Civil War, see J. M. Hernon, "Irish Public Opinion and the American Civil War," doctoral dissertation, Trinity College, Dublin, 1963, 392–405.

[3] E. L. Godkin, "American Home Rule," *Handbook of Home Rule,* ed. James Bryce (London, 1887), 5.

[4] *Ibid.,* 22.

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portant to the Whiggish Liberal Unionists. A leading Hartington Whig, the Duke of Argyll, believed that restoration of the Irish Parliament in Dublin that was abolished under the Act of Union of 1800 could lead to civil war within the United Kingdom and complete Irish independence from Britain.[5] Interestingly, during the American Civil War, Argyll said that he supported the Union for not admitting "what is called the right of secession. I think we ought to admit, in fairness to the Americans, that there are some things worth fighting for, and that national existence is one of them."[6] W. E. H. Lecky, more of a Liberal than Argyll but not a Radical, as he wrote, "like Mr. Bright or Mr. Disraeli,"[7] believed that Irish Home Rule would plant "in the very heart of the British Empire the seeds of triumphant and contagious anarchy, and perhaps even of civil war."[8] This attitude toward Home Rule or states' rights exemplifies the conversion of many "old" Whigs to Conservatism. They believed that the American Civil War "had illustrated the power which rested in the hands of the modern state" and that the only safeguard against the power of an unchecked majority, such as the Catholic nationalists in Ireland, was a strong constitution like that of the United States.[9] These "old" Whigs indicted the "new" Gladstonian Liberals for underestimating the role of force in human affairs. Old Liberalism took shape as Liberal Unionism which was to be linked with imperialism.[10]

Many of the Liberal Unionists, however, especially the nonconformists, opposed Home Rule on moral grounds. Like Bright, they were against Home Rule as a matter of conscience and not because of imperialistic motives. Goldwin Smith, a disciple of Bright and formerly Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, expressed some of their opinions. He wrote to the American journalist and reformer, G. W. Curtis, in 1886: "You fought for your Union against slavery; we are fighting for ours against savagery and superstition."[11] In opposing Home Rule, Smith discussed the history of Irish-Americans and concluded that Celtic-Irishmen were unfit for self-

[5] See G. D. Campbell, duke of Argyll, *Irish Nationalism: An Appeal to History* (London, 1893).

[6] Quoted in George Peel, "George Douglas Campbell," *Dictionary of National Biography,* Suppl. (3 vols., London, 1901), I, 387.

[7] *A Victorian Historian: Private Letters of W.E.H. Lecky 1859–1878,* ed. H. M. Hyde (London, 1947), 11.

[8] W. E. H. Lecky, *An Irish Historian on Home Rule for Ireland* (London, 1889), 7.

[9] John Roach, "Liberalism and the Victorian Intelligentsia," *Cambridge Historical Journal,* XIII (No. 1, 1957), 58–81.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Smith to Curtis, Feb. 11, 1886, quoted in Elisabeth Wallace, *Goldwin Smith: Victorian Liberal* (Toronto, 1957), 92.

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government. He specifically singled out the attitude of Irish-Americans toward the Negro and referred to the New York Draft Riots:

> No pen, I believe, has been used with more hearty goodwill than mine in doing justice to the graces of the Irish character. But there is no use in denying that the Irishman, like other Celts, is by nature politically weak, and apt to fall under the leadership of evil men. American politics, in the cities especially, are a mournful proof of the fact. As a labourer, the Irishman in the United States has been invaluable; as a voter, he has been the unhappy tool of knavery and corruption. He became the vassal supporter of slavery, and was the most cruel enemy of the negro. Nor is there any use in denying that when people applaud assassination, stand by in a crowd while a poor boy has his brains beaten out before his mother's eyes for obeying his lawful master, drag the husband into his wife's presence to be shot, kill one woman, boycott another in childbirth from receiving medical aid, go out by hundreds to hoot a widow on her return from viewing the body of her murdered husband, cut off the udders of cows, and at New York set fire to a negro orphan asylum, increase of self-government is by no means sure to be an unmixed boon. These are not pleasant things to recall, but recalled they must be when it is proposed to take a momentous and irrevocable step on the assumption that British connection being ended, all will be well. British connection is not the cause of Irish crime and disorder, or of the killing of negroes and Chinese on the other side of the Atlantic.[12]

Full of moral indignation after concluding that Irish-Americans and the Celtic-Irish in Ireland were irrational, Smith claimed that American history provided one lesson for Great Britain: "The Americans, people of British blood, nobly resolved to make any sacrifice rather than submit to the disruption of their Union. This is the only pertinent lesson which the American continent sends to England at this hour."[13]

The opportunistic Joseph Chamberlain combined the self-righteous morality and reform-mindedness of the Radicals with the imperialism of the Whigs to form the essential character of Liberal Unionism. He too made use of the lesson of the Civil War and expressed his opposition to Home Rule in Lincolnesque language:

> I say to Ireland what the Liberals or Republicans of the North said to the Southern States of America: "The Union must be preserved." Within these limits there is nothing which you may not ask and hope to obtain. Equal laws, equal justice, equal opportunities, equal prosperity—these shall be freely accorded to you. Your wishes shall be our guide, your prejudices shall be by us respected, your interests shall be our interests, but nature and your position have forged indissoluble links which cannot be sundered without being fraught with consequences of misery and ruin to both our countries, and which, therefore, we shall use all the resources of the Empire to keep intact.[14]

[12] Goldwin Smith, *Dismemberment No Remedy* (London, n.d.), 19–20.
[13] *Ibid.*, 28.
[14] Speech of Chamberlain at Liverpool, Oct. 25, 1881, quoted in J. L. Garvin and Julian Amery, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain* (4 vols., London, 1932–51), I, 345. See also note 2, above.

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In conclusion, it must be emphasized that there is a limit to the parallel between Irish nationalism and southern states' rights. Few historians today would suggest that the Radicals were wrong in seeing the abolition of slavery as a great moral issue in the Civil War, but few would agree with the view of the Liberal Unionists that there was a similar issue in opposition to Home Rule for Ireland. On the contrary, in the view of many critics, states' rights embodied in the cause of Irish nationalism was purified and made more attractive by centuries of neglect and persecution on the part of the central government, while, as Lord Acton pointed out, the moral issue of slavery greatly contributed to the failure of the Confederacy and to the discrediting of southern states' rights.

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Reviews of Books

General

SCIENTIFIC CHANGE: HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE INTELLECTUAL, SOCIAL AND TECHNICAL CONDITIONS FOR SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY AND TECHNICAL INVENTION, FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE PRESENT. SYMPOSIUM ON THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD 9–15 JULY, 1961. Edited by *A. C. Crombie*. (New York: Basic Books. 1963. Pp. xii, 896. $17.50.)

SEVERAL recent symposia in the history of science have been set quite specific tasks by their directors; the symposiasts have bent their expert attention to the effort to solve critical problems, or to gain a more general view of a period. The number of specialists competent to deal with a problem or a period is usually limited. Several symposia may be brought together at one meeting, but their members do not all work together at a single task. This symposium is unusual: Dr. Crombie, who directed it, posed a very definite set of questions to each of his symposiasts; yet these symposiasts were a motley crowd, comprising professional physicists, biologists, economists, historians, sociologists, philosophers, and medical men, as well as specialists chosen from the whole range of specialisms which make up the history of science. It was the almost quixotic questions of the director that gave unity and direction to this large and diverse group.

The study of the history of science was from the start highly individual, large with intellectual ideals. Its acknowledged fathers, men like Paul Tannery, were curious about science and its history. They wished also to see its place on the larger canvas of the life of men in societies. This symposium is very much in this tradition. One of Crombie's questions—"What were the essential changes in scientific thought, and how were they brought about?"—concerns the internal environment of science, the ordered development of theories, concepts, mathematical and experimental techniques, and the assessment of the effect of changes on the balance of scientific opinion. Even this question is broad enough to include in its scope general discussions of scientific method, or canons of satisfactory explanation, which might be influential in all the sciences, and metaphysical, religious, and cosmic beliefs. The other questions are about the relations of science to society, about the full historical setting of the men and institutions of science. They ask what opportunities were afforded to scientists in the societies of their times, what motives they had for serious work, what sort of men they were, how their work was affected by the interests and activities of their contemporaries,

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and whether their work had any influence on thought or technology. Contributors were also asked to discuss and assess the effect of assumptions about the nature of science and the nature of societies on their work.

The papers offered in reply to those questions form nine groups; the papers from each group were discussed together, and the critical commentaries and discussions are grouped with them in the printed volume. Several contributions come from specialists in the study of techniques, institutions, theories, or technologies of specific periods and cultures. One group discusses the establishment of science in antiquity (Part I); there is a paper by Joseph Needham on Chinese science (Part II); a third group discusses science and technology in the Middle Ages (Part III). A further three sections deal with modern science: physical sciences, biology and medicine, the organization of science and technology (Parts V–VII). Thomas S. Kuhn presented a paper on the sociology of science, wherein he argues the importance of strongly conservative traditions in science and the comparative rarity of change; Rupert Hall and Michael Polanyi discuss this (Part IV). A paper on the history of science as an academic discipline appears in Part VIII. Part IX is given to the historiography of science and includes a paper on the historiography of science in Russia by V. P. Zubov of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Each of the contributors, while paying more or less attention to the questions put to him, drew on his specialized knowledge to answer them, and the papers are of interest for their detail as much as for their contributions to the general theme. Both theme and details are debated in the critical commentaries and discussions. Historians, sociologists, and economists, studying the same societies from their different points of view, were expected to see science and technology in rather different roles, and to criticize accordingly; professional scientists were expected to know something about the internal and social contexts of their work. The resulting collection may be seen as a representative selection of up-to-date papers in various fields, but also as a more or less successful attempt to write a novel kind of cooperative synthetic history. One may or may not be sympathetic to such attempts, but there is no doubting the seriousness of this attempt by a group of excellent scholars and professionals. It deserves equally serious appraisal.

Aberdeen University M. F. Partridge

THE POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF EMPIRES. By *S. N. Eisenstadt.* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe. 1963. Pp. xix, 524. $15.00.)

Professor Eisenstadt's impressive volume is the work of many years' devoted labor. It is the purpose of his study to apply sociological concepts to the consideration of historical societies through the comparative analysis of political systems. He does not do this in the manner of historians, but as a sociologist (albeit a political one). He seeks, in other words, to adumbrate a recurrent type of political order

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by elaborating some of its prominent features. He wants to find patterns and laws in the structure and development of these systems, namely bureaucratic empires. His book does not undertake to describe these systems or the culture of which they were a part, but it hopes perhaps to provide the historian with working hypotheses for his admittedly more exacting work. At the same time, Eisenstadt hopes to show sociologists and political scientists some of the rewards of this kind of comparative study. Both by contrast and comparison, one finds oneself reminded of *Feudalism in History* which Rushton Coulborn edited, organized as that volume was, according to historic forms of feudalism, and held together by a general comparative essay. Eisenstadt firmly maintains his generalizing analytical approach. Building entirely on secondary material, indicated in a vast, highly suggestive, and indeed to me, formidable bibliography, he broadly divides his material according to two general categories: conditions of development and conditions of perpetuation.

The first of these topics is subdivided into six chapters which deal respectively with the setting and the problem, the fundamental characteristics (basic hypotheses), the economic structure, religious and cultural organization, social organization and stratification, and the institutionalization of the political system. The second part is also divided into six chapters, addressed to the policies of rulers, political activities of major groups and strata, the social determinants of political processes, the bureaucracy, the place of the political process, and finally processes of change. A chapter of conclusions completes the volume.

It would take an article of many pages to review and evaluate Eisenstadt's many interesting findings. I have already had occasion to include some of them in a general theory of politics. His basic findings can be and are summed up in the proposition that the most important conditions for the institutionalization of such bureaucratic empires were: the tendency of rulers toward implementing autonomous political goals and the development of certain, relatively limited levels of differentiation and free-floating resources in all the major institutional spheres of these societies. Only when both these conditions were present did such bureaucratic empires evolve in a steady progression toward institutionalizing a centralized polity with a bureaucratic administration. Since these findings are broadly in keeping with the work of historians who have elucidated the emergency of centralized bureaucracies in England, France, and other European countries, the contribution of Eisenstadt may be said to lie in showing that we are here confronted with a general law or pattern. Why it should hold is a question that only general political theory would seem to be able to elucidate in terms of power, rule, influence, authority, and the rest. If the fundamental features of these systems are bureaucratic organization and what the author calls "organs of political struggle," then it should not occasion any surprise that he also found that the continued functioning of such a system is contingent on the continued prevalence of these basic conditions. This prevalence was in turn dependent on the political process: the policies of the rulers, the orientations, goals, and activities of the

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principal strata, and their interrelation. Political theory would expect it and will be grateful for this painstaking, empirical confirmation.

The author included approximately a hundred pages of analytical tables through which his material can be seen in an overview and general impressions of the thrust of his several themes may be gleaned. While highly schematic, they are helpful. The same cannot be said of the index which, while adequate for names, lacks analytical perspective so that even crucial categories such as those mentioned in this review cannot be traced. This lack of a good index is regrettable in a work that otherwise is distinguished by careful and cautious scholarship, bold interest in exploring new paths, and generous recognition of the work of other scholars throughout. *The Political Systems of Empires* constitutes a major contribution to sociology, political science, and comparative history.

Harvard University CARL J. FRIEDRICH

THE HISTORIAN AND THE CITY. Edited by *Oscar Handlin* and *John Burchard*. [Publications of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press and Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 299. $7.50.)

USEFUL and timely in view of current interest in the study and teaching of urban history, this book is a collection of papers and comments presented at an interdisciplinary conference on the city sponsored in 1961 by the Joint Center for Urban Studies and the Harvard University Summer School. Only seven of the contributors are historians in the strict sense of the word; the others represent such fields as city planning, economics, philosophy, political and social science, and the history of architecture. Though an implied aim of the conference was to consider the content and presentation of urban history, the papers focus more particularly upon the city as a historical phenomenon, with resulting emphases that nevertheless are of interest to the specialist in urban history as well as to other historians.

One theme that is given informative elaboration in many of the papers is the identification of urbanism with the rise and development of civilization from early times, and this is illuminated by the knowledge and insights of such specialists as Robert Lopez, Alexander Gerschenkron, Sylvia Thrupp, and Sir John Summerson. Frequently recurrent also is the suggestion that the middle years of the twentieth century mark a significant turning point in the periodization of urban history, in view of present-day forces which encourage the dispersal of urban population. Many of the essays document in some way the deep ambivalence of society toward the city which, in Kenneth Boulding's words, has been since Biblical times not only "Zion, the city of God" but "Babylon, the scarlet woman." Carl Schorske finds Europeans from Voltaire to Spengler viewing the city successively as virtuous, vicious, and beyond good and evil, while American intellectuals, according to Morton White, have expressed hostility to the city not

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only because cities were too civilized but because they were not civilized enough. Penn's aspirations for a "green country town" were an early reflection of ambivalence toward the city in the American scene, although, as Anthony Garvan points out, the Philadelphia town plan owed much to the acquaintance of Thomas Holme, Penn's surveyor general, with Irish town design. Frank Freidel's comment makes the point that attitudes toward the city can spring from concrete situations as well as from long-nurtured traditions.

To judge from the published papers, the conference concerned itself less than might have been expected with the techniques of writing urban history and with assessing the relative merits of the individual urban biography as against the more generalized pattern-and-process approach. Eric Lampard spoke for the latter, in the conviction that urbanization supplies a potential frame of reference for explaining social change, but Oscar Handlin, Denis Brogan, and John Burchard supported the monograph as the best source of safe generalization. To quote Handlin, "We need fewer studies of the city in history than of the history of cities." Perhaps a future conference, similarly interdisciplinary, can address itself to supplying the guidelines for making the urban biography increasingly useful as a tool of comparison to those for whom pattern and process—certainly the ultimate goal—are a primary concern. A discriminating bibliography of works relating to the history of cities, prepared by Philip Dawson and Sam B. Warner, gives added value to this stimulating volume.

New York University BAYRD STILL

THE NATURE OF COMMUNISM. By *Robert V. Daniels.* (New York: Random House. 1962. Pp. xvi, 398. $6.00.)

RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM. By *Y. Boyko et al.* [Independent Ukrainian Association for Research of National Problems in Soviet Theory and Practice.] (Munich: Verlagshaus Bong & Co. [1961.] Pp. 336.)

THESE two works both set for themselves the task of explaining the essential meaning of Communism. In the volume by Professor Daniels of the University of Vermont the problem of modern Communism is successively placed in nine different contexts and then probed and dissected until all possible interpretation has been extracted. In contrast to this multitheme approach, Professors Boyko and Kulchytskyi of the Ukrainian Free University and Mr. Sulyma of the Ukrainian Institute of Economics offer four essays in which a single theme is intensively developed—that Communism is completely Russian in essence and is the virtually inevitable fruition of qualities inherent in the Great Russian soul. There are other contrasts between these two books. Daniels' volume is dispassionate, reasoned, and clearly written. The Ukrainian essays are flagrantly anti-Russian, and their content is often obscured by the authors' fondness for an abstract and complex terminology.

What are the nine categories by which Daniels analyzes his subject? He ex-

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amines Communism "first as the orthodox application of Marxist principles; next as the creature of the Russian Revolution; then as a party conspiracy; as a struggle for world power; as a product of Russian history; as a rebellion against the West; as a form of the industrial revolution; as totalitarian society; and as a secular faith." Each category receives a separate chapter. The reader will readily recognize that several of Daniels' arguments and conclusions are not novel and in fact have been voiced by others over the past years. Such is of course to be expected in the light of the enormous amount of attention that has been given the subject and does not at all detract from the general excellence of the work, which is one of the most sensible, balanced, and comprehensive studies of Communism that I have read.

Among the more outstanding parts of this excellent analysis is Daniels' construction of a hypothetical pattern of revolution, one that is rather more complex (nine stages) than the usual models. In the framework of this pattern Daniels decides that the Soviet Union "has probably reached the end of its revolutionary journey." Its dynamic phase is over (unlike this phase of the Chinese revolution). The dictates of immediate strategy and the struggle to retain and expand power have triumphed over the pull of idealism and utopian goals. The Soviet leaders have become cautious players who do not want to be thrown out of the game. One feels, however, that Daniels goes perhaps too far in presenting the Soviet rulers as tacticians of power, almost completely unencumbered by ideological commitment. After all, Communists use power to maintain particular institutions and to pursue particular goals that are a good bit different from the institutions and goals either of democrats or of fascists.

In this book, which is repeatedly helpful because of the enlightening perspectives that are developed, one might single out as especially good Daniels' analysis of the relationship between Communism and Eastern revolt and his discussion of totalitarianism.

In the other volume, Boyko's essay, "Russian Historic Tradition in the Bolshevist Solution of the Nationality Problem," is an effort to demonstrate that all Russian voices of old regime Russia were imperialistic. There was not even one genuine respecter of the right of national self-determination. His second essay, "Russian Populism as a Source of Leninism-Stalinism," is more convincing but as poorly organized. His usage of the term "totalitarianism" might be compared with that of Daniels.

Kulchytskyi's "Analysis of the Russian Nature of Bolshevism in N. A. Berdyaev's Writings," which employs the most difficult vocabulary and style of these essays, is an attempt to expose the inadequacies of Berdyaev's thinking about Communism. Religio-philosophical terminology abounds, and the writing is almost impossible to understand in some places (perhaps the fault of a translator). The author has an interesting objection to Berdyaev's characterization of Communism as a religion. Kulchytskyi insists, rather convincingly, that Communism in fact lacks two "fundamental and indispensable prerequisites" of religion: the quality of "transcendency" or "ultra-mundaneness" and the quality of "in-

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wardness" (contemplation, prayer); for Communism contemplates no transcendental reality and insists on the complete and permanent "extroversion" of man.

Sulyma's concluding essay, "The Russian Nature of Bolshevism as Seen through the Works of Russian Writers, Publicists, and Scholars," seeks to explain the Kremlin's actions in terms of such concepts as "inherent national law," "innate state of the Russian consciousness," and "Russian self-realization." Some of the more turgid passages from Russian writers, such as Tyutchev and Dostoevski, are quoted to demonstrate the dire and gloomy forebodings of the advent of Bolshevism.

However one may insist upon the Russian (more accurately Leninist) origin and nature of modern Communism, the fact remains that Communism, like democracy or fascism, can strike roots anywhere in the world and exhibits great adaptability (for example, in China). It is altogether unfortunate that other "souls" besides the Great Russian soul appear to be suitable or potential vessels for this doctrine.

Emory University KERMIT E. MCKENZIE

LAND AND POWER: BRITISH AND ALLIED POLICY ON GERMANY'S FRONTIERS 1916–19. By *Harold I. Nelson.* [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 402. $8.25.)

IN this solidly packed volume, Harold I. Nelson has produced an informative appraisal of the territorial settlement with Germany after the First World War. Although his major concern is with British official attitudes and policy, his inquiry requires careful consideration of American and French approaches as well. Indeed, some of his most interesting conclusions have to do with the genesis and influence of the policies pursued by Woodrow Wilson and his American delegation.

The first two parts of the study deal respectively with the wartime background of the approach to peacemaking and with the attitudes of the major governments before the Paris Conference. Nelson shows that Britain regarded close identity of outlook with the United States, especially on German territorial issues, as possible and desirable, hoping that such a policy might induce the United States to follow an international course in the postwar world. Understandably, in the light of the author's purpose, British preparations on territorial questions are the most thoroughly discussed, and American preparations are rather neglected. It does seem a pity, however, that Lawrence Gelfand's study of "The Inquiry" was not published in time for Nelson to have seen it, for it would have enriched his assessment of the attitudes of such men as Sidney E. Mezes and Isaiah Bowman who of course later played a role in the discussion of German frontiers at the Paris Conference.

Most of the book deals with the German-Polish frontier and Danzig, with the Rhineland and the treaty of guarantee that emerged as a substitute for French

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proposals concerning the area, with the Saar issue and the Sudeten question, and finally with the disputed territories on the borders of the Low Countries. Nelson's method is to put down almost verbatim the positions revealed in the official and unofficial documents and private papers he has used. In fact, his readers might have been better served if he had digested some of the materials more carefully. To illustrate, we have long quotations in French from Paul Mantoux's important notes on the deliberations of the Council of Four, often of Wilson's or Lloyd George's words, which do not always require the precise and subtle shading of the translator's French but simply a clear paraphrase of the thrust of an idea.

Nelson more than makes up in his conclusions for this tendency to quote too much (and perhaps comment too little) in the body of his study. A number of his judgments are of great interest. He shows that the identity of outlook between Wilson and his staff on the Saar question has been exaggerated. The American advisers saw the issue much as did the French, a position hardly "Wilsonian" in its tone. On the other hand, as Nelson studies the territorial negotiations, he does not easily discover the inexperience and weakness so often attributed to Wilson. He sees the President's role in the preparation of a hard peace as less a retreat and more positive than often believed. Wilson, he argues, was not convinced that genuine political change had taken place in Germany, hence his support of containment measures. As for the British delegation, it was sharply divided over the German-Polish boundary on both the technical and political levels, while most of its members supported a German-Czech line based upon geographic, strategic, and economic factors rather than ethnic considerations. In the West, Lloyd George sought to bolster French security with America's involvement in Europe's future. He regarded the European equilibrium as temporary and hoped to use the American treaty as a guarantee against the consequences of a German revival. Yet at the same time, Nelson concludes, because he felt it necessary to hedge against American reversion to isolationism, he could not afford to break with Clemenceau. The British delegation therefore pursued a moderate and pragmatic course in the German territorial negotiations, trying to reconcile balance of power considerations with the forces of nationality. That any other course would have been more successful does not seem likely to the author, and it is an indication of the soundness of his argument that it appears no more likely to the reader of this careful and detailed monograph.

Rutgers University HENRY R. WINKLER

HISTOIRE DE NOTRE TEMPS: POLITIQUES NATIONALES ET CONFLITS INTERNATIONAUX, 1945–1962. By *F. L'Huillier et al.* ([Paris:] Sirey. 1964. Pp. 409. 28 fr.)

As Fernand L'Huillier, the editor and major author of this book, honestly notes in his preface, the history of our own times finds it difficult to detach itself from

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either the *mystique* of political science or the dull, listless chronicle. Still, this work, which devotes roughly one hundred pages each to Europe, Asia-Middle East-Southeast Asia, America-Australia, and, finally, Africa, serves a useful purpose. It puts down a considerable amount of data in a reasonably palatable form, refusing to fall prey to the various determinisms and party lines, and at the same time demonstrating a keen awareness of ideologies, behaviorist thought, national and bloc interests.

Post-1945 was a world of increased complexity in which man reached out in many contradictory directions toward an unknown destiny. Halfway between 1945 and 1962, where this book tapers off, the two Great Powers went in for defense-offense escalation. This decision brought about heavy burdens and greatly reduced the ability of each to focus effectively upon the "Third World," another new phenomenon and one that a half century hence might well be vital and could be dominant.

Since this introduction of terror into international relationships, several other elements enter the picture. Europe has come back into full productivity, and in De Gaulle's case, into independence of action. The Soviet Union and the Chinese *frères* no longer see eye to eye on many things, particularly coexistence with the "Western imperialists." It is the view of L'Huillier that this split will last as long as Mao Tse-tung and Khrushchev remain at the controls.

Based upon a secondary literature largely in European languages and written mostly by Europeans—D. W. Brogan is responsible for the chapter on American policy, and J. D. B. Miller wrote the sections on Britain, Australia, and New Zealand—this book has a freshness and originality that we can all afford to ponder. As one needling example, which will bother the wavers of the bloody shirt, P. Monbeig of the Sorbonne, who wrote the chapter on Latin America, notes, "The demands that the Republican administration in Washington imposed upon Fidel Castro justified the pro-Soviet evolution of the Cubans in the eyes of the Latin-Americans."

Northwestern University RICHARD M. BRACE

Ancient and Medieval

THE SALERNITAN QUESTIONS: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE PROBLEM LITERATURE. By *Brian Lawn*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 240. $10.10.)

THIS extremely important work opens up certain hitherto virtually unexamined paths of scientific methodology and content during the Middle Ages and strengthens further the continuity between the classical period and the Renaissance. The matter at hand, as set forth in the title, concerns not only the transmission of concrete conclusions drawn from classical scientific investigations but the at-

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tendant method used, induction and empiricism. In his work on Grosseteste Mr. Crombie has already traced the importance of this thirteenth-century figure as a lineal ancestor of the seventeenth-century scientific revolution. Others have brought to our attention the importance of the school of Salerno from the time of Constantinus Africanus in the eleventh century. Now Mr. Lawn suggests we must go back at least to the ninth century for an earlier appearance of these important matters. This places us squarely in the constructive period of the Carolingian renaissance thereby heightening its importance and attaching it more securely to those renaissances that followed. The development of the Carolingian minuscule and the intensive copying of manuscripts that was pursued thereafter may have led to the disappearance of the earlier manuscriptural evidence that would have forged the necessary material link with antiquity, but this may now be accepted as existing by inference, particularly if we see in the work of Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede a largely suggestive confirmation of it.

As Lawn suggests, his work is not by any means definitive or exhaustive in regard to the importance and all the ramifications of the Salernitan questions. Much exists still only in manuscript and needs proper editing and publishing. Also some of the seminal figures are still too little known or insufficiently examined. And it is to be hoped that this study will lead to an intensification of research therein, as, for example, the various books of problems ascribed to Aristotle. This all leads to the belief that there are still wide areas of medieval science that need much more thorough investigation before any adequate understanding and appreciation of this too often and too easily misunderstood period are achieved.

This book is admirably free from errors; I discovered only three. The Crato queried on page 82, note 1, may possibly be Kraton I, a declamator of the time of the elder Seneca (see Paully-Wissowa-Kroll, XI, 1660). There is an article on William of Conches in *Scriptorium,* I (1947), by A. Vernet not mentioned in the bibliography. The important fourteenth-century figure, a German encyclopedist who paraphrased Thomas of Cantimpré, Konrad von Megenburg, *Das Puch der Natur* (Sarton, III, 817–21), is not mentioned in the text.

Emory University FRANCIS S. BENJAMIN, JR.

ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST. By *H. R. Loyn.* [Social and Economic History of England.] (New York: St Martin's Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 422. $6.50.)

THIS careful and well-written study is the first volume in a series edited by Asa Briggs entitled "Social and Economic History of England." Mr. Loyn's volume constitutes a balanced, thoughtful synthesis of modern scholarship on English social and economic history from the Anglo-Saxon settlements through the Norman Conquest—a synthesis that incorporates the results not only of historical research in the documents, but also of place name studies, aerial photography,

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and archaeological and numismatic data. The author's own knowledge of Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman source materials and his familiarity with contemporary developments on the Continent enable him to move confidently through the voluminous modern literature on his subject, rejecting theories he finds unconvincing, reserving judgment on others, and arranging the rest into an intelligent conceptual scheme.

In Loyn's view, the supreme achievement of Anglo-Saxon England was the development of economic stability and social cohesion through a prolonged process of "territorialization." First of all, the Anglo-Saxon settlers and their descendants tamed the land and established firm roots in it, thereby strengthening the hold of man upon nature. Behind the rise of commerce in the eleventh century lay "the slow plodding advance of corporate agriculture. During these centuries the peasant was fixed on his plot. . . ." The stabilization of the agrarian community was accompanied by a closely related trend in the development of social and political institutions—from bonds of kinship to bonds of lordship. The scope and power of the monarchy steadily increased, and the land fell more and more under the control of a territorial aristocracy of ealdormen and thegns who performed essential functions, military, administrative, and judicial, under the supreme authority of the king. And while society was achieving greater cohesion through the development of territorial units such as the village, the hundred, and the shire, the Church was establishing its own version of territorial government through the parish and the diocese. The basic movement, over the long period between the seventh and eleventh century, "was away from the tie of blood, and towards the tie of the territorial community."

Loyn quite obviously has great respect for the Anglo-Saxon achievement, and rightly so. But he also gives full credit to the contribution of Danes and Normans. In the best tradition of modern scholarship, he recognizes the significance of the Norman influence on English institutions without feeling the necessity of denigrating the Anglo-Saxons: "The great achievement of the Norman lay in his concentration of territorial power. The great achievement of the Saxon lay in the creation of such power."

There are some minor points in Loyn's book with which one might take issue. When he states that landholding was the essential means of providing and provisioning an army in the feudal society of Norman England, he seems to imply, wrongly I believe, that land was not the basis of military service in Anglo-Saxon times. And it is possible that he lays excessive stress on the "solidarity" of the Norman monarchy and aristocracy vis-à-vis the post-Conquest Anglo-Saxons. But in neither case is Loyn's position exotic. These are matters on which scholars of good judgment and good will can honestly differ.

Students of Anglo-Saxon England will be indebted to Loyn for this judicious survey which brings order and meaning out of the heterogeneous data of Old English economic and social history.

University of California, Santa Barbara C. Warren Hollister

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THE PROBLEM OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES: THE PAPAL MONARCHY WITH AUGUSTINUS TRIUMPHUS AND THE PUBLICISTS. By *Michael Wilks*. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. New Series, Volume IX.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 619. $12.50.)

THIS book deals with the problem of sovereignty as it presented itself in the political thought of propapal publicists during roughly the period 1250–1350. Accordingly, the author has had to deal in almost as much detail with theology, philosophy, and law as with political theory. Although, as the subtitle indicates, the works of Augustinus Triumphus of Ancona (the only items among original sources in the bibliography consulted in manuscript) constitute the *point de départ,* Dr. Wilks also takes into account the writings of fifty-three identifiable publicists as well as eighteen anonymous works. There are useful notes on these publicists and anonymous works in the third appendix. Wilks makes no claim to have used any secondary authorities published after 1957, when most of his writing was completed, and even E. H. Kantorowicz' *The King's Two Bodies,* published in that year, is noticed only in footnotes. He has, on the other hand, used every relevant publication prior to 1957, so much so that his bibliography is an indispensable guide to the whole literature of late medieval political theory. Let it be said at once that the book is a happy combination of meticulous and even awesome scholarship and a felicitous command of the queen's English. It is refreshing to find no trace of the pseudotechnical jargon that makes certain recent works in the field so difficult to read and comprehend.

The book begins with a short introduction to Augustinus Triumphus (c. 1270–1328), his works, and his place generally in medieval political thought. The major part of the book is divided into six parts that deal with problems indicated by the titles: universal society, origin of political authority, God and Caesar, Vicar of Christ, changing conceptions of universal authority, the conciliar theory. There are a conclusion and, in addition to the third appendix, two other appendixes on the scriptural basis of the lay papacy and on the hierocratic interpretation of history. The index is eminently useful and usable since topics are included with the customary listing of persons, places, and works.

Wilks's thesis is that Augustinus Triumphus and similar people built up a complete theory of papal sovereignty based on a Neoplatonic, Augustinian view of the Church as a universal and totalitarian state. Their Aristotelian opponents, influenced by the revival of Roman law, advanced the idea of a secularized, individualistic society and the notion of popular sovereignty. This eventually successful frontal assault on the hierocrats—the fresh point of view in Wilks's thesis—"was aided by the concealed undermining of the papal supremacy at the hands of the [Thomistic] moderates, who were pursuing the ideal of a Christian humanism. . . . It was this *trahison des clercs* which opened up the way for secularism and lay supremacy. Left to themselves the defenders of the Christian

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ideal might have prepared better defences against the onrush of the classical resurrection; by attempting to come to terms with it they defeated their own purpose. And in this light Thomism comes to be seen not so much as the last Christian barrier against the pagan floods, but as the catalyst through which the Ages of Faith became transmuted into an Age of Reason." Wilks's book is also a telling chronicle of the victory of nominalism over realism and of the implications of that victory.

Emory University G. P. Cuttino

GENÈVE ET L'ÉCONOMIE EUROPÉENNE DE LA RENAISSANCE. By *Jean-François Bergier*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI[e] Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Volume XXIX.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1963. Pp. 519.)

Another remarkable volume in this already remarkable series, edited by Professor Fernand Braudel, this book by Dr. Bergier traces the development of the fairs of Geneva from their inception in the 1300's to 1480. He plans to write a second volume which will carry the story into the sixteenth century and also will deal in greater detail with the organization of the money market and the role of the fairs as an international clearing center. While Bergier accepts the view that the Italian Renaissance in general was a period of stagnation, he points out that Geneva, contrary to the prevailing trend, prospered and developed until about 1450 when it declined for two reasons: the rise of the competing fairs of Lyons and the crisis of the Italian economy. Certainly the depression deepened after 1470, but it is doubtful whether the recovery occurred as early as 1480.

Bergier is right in attributing the spectacular and sudden rise of the Lyons fairs (around 1465) to the economic policy of Louis XI. This policy explains why this development happened at a particular moment, but it might have come sooner or later, since Lyons was better located in relation to the French market, once the devastations of the Hundred Years' War had come to an end.

As Bergier himself points out in the first part of his book, Geneva was handicapped by the limited resources of the surrounding territory, which had little to offer as exportable commodities with the exception of woolen cloth from Fribourg. Geneva's only advantage was its position at the junction of two axes: an east-west axis that extended from Germany to Spain and a north-south route from Italy to Flanders through the passes of the Simplon and the Great Saint Bernard. Lyons was, however, a stopping point on the same east-west axis, and the north-south route did not necessarily have to pass through Geneva.

On the financial side the fairs were dominated by the Italian banking houses and played a cardinal role in the settlement of international balances between Northern Europe and Italy. While Geneva after 1466 retained some of the trade, it lost all importance as a financial center when the Italian bankers moved to Lyons.

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In accordance with the method favored by Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel, the author devotes considerable space to geographic environment and human resources. There is an excellent map of the region around Geneva, very helpful because relief and mountain passes are clearly indicated. The style is pleasing and readable. This book, based on archival sources in several countries, is a major contribution and replaces the earlier work by Frédéric Borel, which is completely out of date.

Brooklyn, New York FLORENCE EDLER DE ROOVER

Modern Europe

THE MILLENNIUM OF EUROPE. By *Oscar Halecki*. Foreword by *Hendrick Brugmans*. ([Notre Dame, Ind.:] University of Notre Dame Press. 1963. Pp. xxvii, 441. $8.95.)

PROFESSOR Halecki's thesis is a comparatively simple one: Europe as a historical community has been erected on two traditions, Greco-Roman humanism and Christianity. This dualism has led in modern times to an imbalance that can be traced from the Renaissance through the scientific and industrial revolutions. The book ends with a plea for reuniting Christianity and humanism within the framework of a united Europe. This theme is accompanied by a valuable discussion of the expansion of these traditions throughout Europe, until in the tenth century with the Europeanization of Eastern Europe the millennium of Europe starts in earnest.

Christianity is the decisive factor in this dualism; European culture is Christian culture. It is at this point that difficulties arise, for the actual content and effectiveness of the concept of a Christian commonwealth are assumed, and historical events are measured against such a moral and ethical ideal. This idealistic basis is said to be more important than the materialistic superstructure, but the degree to which the ideal itself became involved, and changed by the involvement, with material concerns does not clearly emerge. A discussion of casuistry would have been essential, if only to face the problem of the continuity of meaning of the Christian commonwealth; nor does the modern linkage of this ideal with reactionary political regimes receive attention. The basic contention of both the indivisibility and continuity of a Christian Europe faces an admitted humanist challenge, but this was not without a rival morality of its own. The Renaissance is said to be influenced by the anti-Christian belief that politics has nothing to do with ethics; this can hardly be maintained, however, even for a figure like Machiavelli. Halecki connects political morality exclusively with a Christian tradition, an exclusiveness that leads him to underestimate the force of other European moral traditions and to push the idea of Christian continuity to great lengths. Surely skepticism and Neoplatonism were a break with Chris-

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tianity, while the Becker thesis about the Enlightenment, which he accepts, has been challenged by modern scholarship. Even the spiritual unity of the Middle Ages saw vast areas of Europe succumb to heresies that did not share a "universally accepted Christian doctrine."

One misses a confrontation with such problems. The trouble seems to stem from the fact that a basically cultural approach is worked out in terms of the interrelationships of European states, that emphasizing the evolution of the European state system pushes the problems of a Christian culture to the margins of the analysis.

Marxism is the modern enemy; fascism, the great secularized religion, is strangely slighted. But even here the brushing aside of Marxist humanism would have been more convincing within the context of a modern scholarship that distinguishes between Marx, Engels, and Lenin. It is not quite clear why Russia should be excluded from Europe even before Communism, and the emphasis upon the persistence of its Asiatic tradition is a highly controversial point.

The book attempts to arrive at the historical foundations of European unity, seen in terms of the Christian commonwealth. This goal led to assumptions raising historical problems not solved in this book. Perhaps Halecki will now write a companion volume centering upon the cultural aspects of his thesis.

University of Wisconsin GEORGE L. MOSSE

HUMANISTS AND JURISTS: SIX STUDIES IN THE RENAISSANCE. By *Myron P. Gilmore.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 184. $4.25.)

THE over-all title of this volume only partially conveys the scope of the six illuminating and provocative essays—four previously published but here extended and revised—that Professor Gilmore has devoted to the subject of new attitudes toward history in the Renaissance. The first three studies draw upon the Italian Renaissance and sixteenth-century French humanism, two are concerned with Erasmus, and a final essay deals with Erasmus' friend Amerbach.

Covering the period from Petrarch to Erasmus, the author pursues two closely related themes: the contrasting strains within humanism itself in regard to the nature and function of history, strains held in somewhat uneasy synthesis; the contribution of the lawyers to the new historical attitude emerging as a by-product of the humanist attack upon them. The more familiar attitude of the early humanists is admirably summarized, with its belief in the repetitive character of history and the relevance of the lessons of history to the present, its emphasis on original sources and textual criticism. Coexistent with it, however, was the sense of the uniqueness of historical events, of the importance of the free actions of individuals within the framework of given determinisms, hence the assumption that history does not repeat itself. This receives special elaboration in the essay on "Individualism in Renaissance Historians," with illustrations drawn from

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Commines, Bodin, and Guicciardini. Of particular interest is the role of the jurists in the development of a new historical attitude, a complicated theme that Gilmore here delineates with refreshing clarity. From the long-drawn attack of the humanists upon the lawyers for their unhistorical approach a school of humanistic jurisprudence emerged associated with Alciato and Budé. (One wonders whether French influence was not more decisive for Alciato than Italian in French dominated Milan.) Carried to extremes this philological technique was to render the study of Roman law purely academic and to rob it of relevance. Here as in their exaggerated "Ciceronianism" the humanists ultimately lost sight of their own historical canons, incurring the strictures of their greatest representatives, Erasmus and Bodin.

These central themes by no means exhaust the rich fare offered in Gilmore's masterly essays. A small book of far-reaching content, it should not be missed by any student of the Renaissance.

Smith College LEONA C. GABEL

A HISTORY OF THE WORSHIPFUL SOCIETY OF APOTHECARIES OF LONDON. Volume I, 1617–1815. Abstracted and arranged from the manuscript notes of the late *Cecil Wall* by the late *H. Charles Cameron*. Revised, annotated, and edited by *E. Ashworth Underwood*. [Publications of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, New Series, Number 8.] (New York: Oxford University Press for the Museum. 1963. Pp. xiv, 450. $8.80.)

THIS book has had a curious history. It was begun by the late Dr. Cecil Wall, archivist and past master of the Society of Apothecaries, who realized the wealth of historical material contained in the archives of the society. Reading between the lines of the foreword, it seems clear that his labors produced an exhaustive and rather antiquarian work badly in need of cutting and rearrangement if it were to serve as a history. Unfortunately, before Wall himself could prune his manuscript, he died, and the task was undertaken by Dr. Hector Charles Cameron, a historian of medicine of some note. Cameron, working only with what had been left him by Wall, produced an acceptable manuscript before his death in 1958. The job of seeing this work through the press was assumed by Dr. E. Ashworth Underwood of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum. Underwood painstakingly went over the result of his two predecessors and found, obviously to his horror, that some of the transcriptions of the early manuscripts (by Wall) left something to be desired in accuracy. He then checked the documentation and corrected such faults as had been overlooked by the originator of the history. This led him back to the archives and also to the conclusion that the modern part of the history of the society required more detailed treatment than it had been accorded by Wall. Thus the decision was made to publish the history in two volumes, with Underwood being responsible for the later work while also revising and correcting the history of the earlier years. It is, therefore, almost impossible

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to tell who the real author of this volume is, or even the extent to which the three authors are indebted to one another. The surprising thing is that the work is as cohesive as it is and that the whole effort has come off rather well.

The volume is divided into two parts: pages 1–209 recount the history of the Society of Apothecaries, while pages 211–425 are devoted to notes and sources. The history proper is divided into fourteen essays that deal with the society from its founding in the seventeenth century to the Apothecaries Act of 1815 which was to provide for the creation of general practitioners in medicine throughout most of the nineteenth century. The notes and sources not only document the essays, but provide a liberal sampling from the archives of the society. The style of the whole is a bit heavy although the intrinsic interest of the subject carries Underwood (and Wall and Cameron) over many a dull spot. The truly amazing aspect of this work is that it reveals a slice of history so rich that its appeal will be felt far beyond the limits of the history of medicine or the history of science. The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London was in the middle of the social and economic history of England. The historian of medicine who is interested in the quality and sources of medical practice must, of course, read this book. The historian of science who wishes to understand the peculiar nature of scientific institutions in England or who wants to trace the application of science, particularly chemistry, to human affairs should also be in the audience. With them must stand the social historian, for the society's trials and tribulations, its battles with the College of Physicians, and its unique relationship with the common people reveal many a fascinating point or nuance of social history. The economic historian, too, will find much of interest on the manufacture and use of medicinals which, in many ways, were of more importance to the ordinary man than were the products of heavy industry. The published sources from the society's archives will provide the starting point for many new researches.

Cornell University L. Pearce Williams

SHELBURNE AND REFORM. By *John Norris*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 325. $12.00.)

The second Earl of Shelburne deserves more attention than he has received. He had his fingers in so many pies for so long that he became a fixture of his age, and no one then or since has fully explained his enigmatic character. Professor Norris attempts to probe part of the enigma by assessing Shelburne's role in its political context, in order to explain why this would-be liberal was profoundly distrusted by his most liberal contemporaries. Aside from three chapters on the Earl's early career, and one on his retirement, most of the book is almost evenly divided between his long years in opposition and his brief tenure of office in 1782–1783. Although the focus is on his attempted reforms, there is also much valuable material on his political fortunes and his peace negotiations with France and the United States.

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Norris considers Shelburne "one of the most important of the architects of change," but does not make his case. An important architect is surely one who sees at least some of his major designs carried out, and Shelburne did not. In opposition he inveighed against the governmental system as corrupt; in office he found that it was not so much corrupt as complex, and beyond his power to change. This sudden education is the most interesting part of the book for the general reader, who watches an intelligent man, unrealistic in opposition, being forced into realism by acquiring responsibility for operating the system he had castigated. But the upshot was frustration, for as a reformer Shelburne failed.

His specific efforts at "economical" reform, as described in these pages, are singularly hard to follow. The financial practices that he tried to change were so variegated and intricate that only a few experts understood them at the time, and fewer understand them now. Norris does, but he makes little effort to explain his terms or put his information in easily assimilable form, and often seems to be addressing only readers who share his expertise. Those who lack it will become lost in such details as the negotiable "In Course" bills of the Navy and Ordnance Boards, the Captain of Gentlemen Pensioners who might or might not "continue to mulct his Band of fees," and even the distinction between "the personal accountability of administrative officers by judicial audit" and "the perpetual accountability of the offices in which the officers served, under administrative audit." All this typifies a dangerous trend among the post-Namierites. They seem to be forming a cult, in which they are free to lapse on occasion into language intelligible only to those already initiated into their arcane mysteries. For the ordinary historian who is trying to understand the eighteenth century, what they have to say is sometimes informative and sometimes obscure to the point of mystification.

University of Michigan WILLIAM B. WILLCOX

THE AMERICAN SECRETARY: THE COLONIAL POLICY OF LORD GEORGE GERMAIN, 1775–1778. By *Gerald Saxon Brown*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 246. $7.50.)

THE career of Lord George Germain has baffled historians. His conduct at the Battle of Minden has never been satisfactorily explained, and, although declared by court-martial unfit to serve in any military capacity, he was entrusted with the coercion of America and blamed for its failure. Despite this black record, there have always been hints of mitigating features. Resentful criticism by defeated generals and eloquent political opponents is unconvincing; and contemporaries were not unanimously derogatory. Professor Brown, with the great manuscript collections of the Clements Library to draw upon, concentrates on the period 1775–1778, with the Saratoga campaign, recently re-examined also by Professor Willcox, as its centerpiece. He goes carefully into the evidence and does not shirk its difficulties. His balanced conclusion, though avowedly not a

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rehabilitation, tends somewhat in that direction and is the more effective for its sobriety and discrimination. He emphasizes the violence of faction, which played a great part in the Minden affair and which is proverbial in English politics during the American Revolution. He is well justified in this emphasis, although occasionally unsure in dealing with groups or personalities. In the introductory chapters, for example, he does not mention Germain's ambition to lead the Rockingham Whigs in the House of Commons—a vain hope that produced a long and interesting characterization by Burke in January 1773. On the other hand, the later conflict of personalities, especially with the officers serving in America, is closely examined, and a fair share of blame transferred from Germain to Carleton and, especially, to Sir William Howe. (An unfortunate misprint on page 101 contradicts the author's judgment that an eventual cordon of power was intended to separate the northern and southern colonies in 1777.) The accusations of ambiguous or too rigid instructions are shown to be at least exaggerated, and the author has found new evidence to suggest that Germain would have been a sounder strategist in the war with France than his more influential colleague, Sandwich.

It may indeed be argued that many elements have been undervalued to Germain's disadvantage in the traditional story which owes so much to the "ghost of Minden" and the defeat at Saratoga. The fact remains that, in the American campaigns, Germain alone was in a position to ensure effective coordination, directly or indirectly, and this he failed to do. The King's unfavorable judgment of his performance by 1779 ("He has not been of use in his department") is the more impressive because of their peculiar identity of purpose; while the protests of Clinton, for example, cannot be dismissed as mere disgruntlement. Even when all is said, Germain has little more consolation than that of having good company in the dock.

University of California, Berkeley G. H. Guttridge

GENTLEMANLY POWER: BRITISH LEADERSHIP AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL TRADITION. A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN THE MAKING OF RULERS. By *Rupert Wilkinson*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 243. $6.00.)

Much has been written about the English public schools in the way of description, attack, or defense, but there has been little in the way of functional analysis. One may approve or disapprove of the goals of public-school education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But questions remain: How efficient were the schools in attaining these goals? Did the goals bear any relationship to the political structure and to both the achievements and the failures of the English governing classes? Mr. Wilkinson has set out to find answers to those questions in this interesting and thought-provoking book.

He traces the process by which the public schools produced public servants

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by making gentlemen out of middle- as well as upper-class boys and discovers counterparts to school life in English politics, where ritual and ceremony as well as values such as restraint, self-control, good form, fair play, and loyalty are found as useful as they were at school. He looks at the other side of the coin, too. The emphasis on a classical and "non-utilitarian" education, the exaltation of the amateur ideal, and the excessive cultivation of the instinctive and the customary can lead to deleterious effects, apparent in recent and contemporary English history. The book concludes with chapters in which English public-school education is compared to the Confucian educational ideal and practice, and the public school seen as a "totalitarian" system is compared to educational methods employed respectively in Japan and by the Society of Jesus.

This is, therefore, a pioneering work. And it has both the virtues and faults of such an endeavor. On the one hand, it is full of ideas and speculations. On the other hand, the author, though commendably cautious about his conclusions, shows a fondness for producing generalizations and stereotypes that will not always withstand detailed historical examination. One could argue with him about his image of the Victorian class structure, about his use of the term "Tory Democracy," and about many other things. But the originality of his approach compensates for much. It does not, however, make up for the rather wooden style in which the book is written: full of jargon and occasionally slipshod. When one finds an Old Wykehamist questioning the ideal of a classical education, one expects him to do it with a verve and elegance that are lacking here. Is their very absence perhaps a sign that the public schools have, after all, come into closer touch with the workaday world?

University of Chicago JOHN CLIVE

A HISTORY OF BRITISH TRADE UNIONISM. By *Henry Pelling*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 287. $8.50.)

COMPARISON of this new book with Sidney and Beatrice Webb's account of *The History of Trade Unionism* is almost inevitable, for a suitable successor to it has long been awaited. Published originally in 1894 and extended and revised in the 1920 edition, that pioneering work has continued to be the standard text for the subject though it carried the story only to the respective dates of writing, necessarily leaving a lengthening period of twentieth-century union history untouched. Neither G. D. H. Cole's *Short History of the British Working Class Movement* (1927) nor Francis Williams' *Magnificent Journey* (1954) succeeded, however, in filling the need for a fresh treatment, and students of nineteenth- and twentieth-century British labor history will, therefore, look to Henry Pelling's new book with considerable interest. It presents a general survey of the whole subject and, in three evenly balanced stages, brings the story to the present.

The author performs his task in a highly abbreviated fashion, one which would probably strike the Webbs as thoroughly inadequate if not downright trifling, but which is undoubtedly much better suited to the reading habits of our

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day than their 750-page tome. In fact, Pelling overtakes his Fabian predecessors in about 150 pages, and his whole account runs to no more than 265. The student is bound, in consequence, to agree with his statement that the Webb book remains "indispensable for any detailed study of the subject" in the era down to 1920. But if Pelling's book does not supplant the older work, if it is no definitive history presenting all the latest research in the field, there are nonetheless very good reasons why the author should have the gratitude of students and general readers alike. Most important is the fact that Pelling has throughout based his review of the history of British trade-unionism upon recent reinterpretations of the subject and has taken systematic but unobtrusive account of the many and varied lines of criticism that have, in the past several decades, been directed at Webb's presentation and understanding of the matter. The suggestions and the revisions of G. D. H. Cole, V. L. Allen, A. E. Musson, and many other scholars have been given due attention; the result is a book which, despite its brevity, is thoroughly up to date in its assessments and, at the same time, gives us a far better balanced account than has hitherto been available. The diversity of the union movement is stressed; the Combination Acts are put in their place; the London unions and their secretaries are scaled down in importance; appropriate space is given to provincial developments and to those labor organizations not of the "amalgamated" type; and the effects of the changing political, social, and economic environment in which unions had to operate is indicated in outline.

Necessarily Pelling has had to sacrifice much of that great wealth of factual detail that has long made *The History of Trade Unionism* so useful. Thus the student will find this new book of little help if he wishes, for example, to review the application of the mid-Victorian labor law and the court cases in which unions and unionists were at that time involved. But as a work of comprehension and reinterpretation *A History of British Trade Unionism* is a thoroughly successful venture.

McMaster University H. W. McCready

NATURE AND CULTURE: ETHICAL THOUGHT IN THE FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT. By *Lester G. Crocker.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1963. Pp. xx, 540. $7.95.)

This second part of a trilogy is major proof again that American historiography is making significant efforts to reconsider European intellectual history free from traditional nationalist parochialism. The eighteenth-century ethical problem—the war in the breast of man between nature and culture or individual human nature and society, or the antagonism between man's sociability and asociability—is here set forth with a wealth of detail that has not been equaled by the French themselves. There are also significant side glances at English thought, and, more rarely, at German thought, appropriate since the currents of influence floated west to east during this period.

No other work surveys the enormous body of French moralist thought with

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such care. If one agrees with the author's conclusion, this is excellent testimony to the success in the history of ideas of a method that art historians have long been aware of: the illumination of the intellectual giants of an age by a comprehensive study of minor figures. The manner in which lesser men pose a problem, their very naïveté, and often their exaggeration help us to grasp the full implications of these ideas among the great.

A fulsome treatment of the variations of natural law theory is followed by an analysis of the attempt to find substitutes for it in what Crocker calls the experiential theory, the utilitarian synthesis, culminating in the moral impasse of sadism. The book is thus more than a compilation or a *dictionnaire raisonné* of set positions; it has a thesis. When superhuman sanctions had been abandoned and moral absolutes even of the "natural law" variety had been forsaken, the philosophers stood as naked "sensationalists" before the moral problem. And once their pleasure-pain theory was drawn to its ultimate conclusion, they had to plunge into the abyss of sadism as a moral position. As the moralists are reviewed in this book, virtually no one can pass muster because he is either "inconsistent" or on the road to "nihilism." How these wicked sensationalist doctrines penetrated and contorted the thinking not only of Diderot, Holbach, La Mettrie, but also moralists within the pale of the Church, moralists striving to uphold the tottering edifice of society with wrong arguments!

It is because I value Crocker's work as an important and superbly documented presentation of what in the end is an indictment of the ethical outlook of the French Enlightenment that I consider it worth while to enter the lists against it on general grounds, without caviling over individual details of interpretation. There has of late been a growing tendency to re-examine much eighteenth-century thought as the historical source of what writers conceive to be our contemporary moral ills. In a sense this is a revival and transformation of the traditionalist: *C'est la faute à Rousseau, c'est la faute à Voltaire.* Crocker's views are consonant with this attitude. To sustain his thesis, he reduces the complicated moral positions of the great eighteenth-century skeptics, stripping them of their wit, militant doubt, and ambiguity. They longed for the good while knowing the evil; they committed themselves to grandiose moral propositions as self-evident truths, then took them back; they opened men's eyes to this very problem of the eternal war of nature and culture. The fact is that the moral dialectic of *Rameau's Nephew,* of *Candide,* of *Jean-Jacques juge de Rousseau* never emerges in this book, though the two contradictory positions may be duly quoted in their appropriate and separate sections. Any vast moral upheaval or new moral outlook is likely to carry within it opposing elements which, if driven to their logical conclusion in Aristotelian terms, end up in absurdity and monstrosity. But is it fair to concentrate on these extremes, and use them as a yardstick to measure a great century of human revelation or to condemn the emancipating influence of its most brilliant thinkers?

One of the major solutions to the problem of the contradiction between nature

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and culture, the historical one, seems to receive short shrift in this volume. You do not have to be committed to the idea of progress to see it as a moral solution worthy of study in greater depth. Why are the philosophies of history of De Brosses and Boulanger, Condorcet and Turgot, absent here?

Though I have been reading eighteenth-century moralists for many decades, I hardly recognize them in Crocker's treatment. And this is in itself evidence that writers of the Enlightenment are far more complex and elusive than they are sometimes thought to be. Clearly Crocker and I have placed very different lenses on our myopic eyes, and it will not be enough for positivistic young historians to use us as corrections of each other.

Brandeis University FRANK E. MANUEL

UN SOLDAT DANS LA TOURMENTE. By *Guy Raïssac*. (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1963. Pp. 523. 22.50 fr.)

M. RAÏSSAC's title is ambiguous, but his subject is straightforward enough. The soldier in question is General Maxime Weygand (who recently celebrated his ninety-seventh birthday); the tempest is the Second World War. Raïssac has not attempted to write a full-scale biography; he has crammed Weygand's pre-1940 career into a brief introductory section. For an adequate account of that earlier period, we will have to await publication of Philip Bankwitz' Harvard dissertation. But Raïssac's contribution to the history of the war period is a valuable one, primarily because he was privileged to use the official archives of the Vichy government. These archives, which will long remain inaccessible to ordinary historians, were opened to Raïssac immediately after the war when he was assigned, as a young career magistrate, to serve on the High Court set up to try collaborators. Along with a small staff of experts, he dug through these tons of state papers in search of relevant evidence. He quotes extensively from these official sources, though unfortunately he is unable to provide precise citations. Readers will have to be satisfied with his assurance that he "guarantees the authenticity of his documentation."

Raïssac became interested in the Weygand case in the course of his High Court service, and he has written this book as a kind of labor of love. Although he has seriously tried to maintain a stance of judicial neutrality, he cannot fully conceal his deep admiration for Weygand, who emerges as a kind of misunderstood hero. Indeed, the general's work in rebuilding the North African army in 1940–1941 made him (according to Raïssac) "one of the best and surest artisans of our liberation." There are lengthy chapters devoted to Weygand's wartime relationships with De Gaulle, with Darlan, with Pétain, and always Weygand seems to come off with the honors. Undoubtedly Weygand deserves to be cleared of most of the charges brought against him during the liberation era, but Raïssac's tendency to explain away virtually every action and attitude of his hero, such as Weygand's conduct as commander in May–June 1940, his

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open hostility to the Free French movement, his lifelong sympathy for Right-wing causes (culminating in support of the OAS), leaves the reader a bit dubious. This is, nevertheless, a useful and intelligent study that cannot be ignored by any student of recent French history.

Stanford University GORDON WRIGHT

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN: A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF VITORIA, DE SOTO, SUAREZ, AND MOLINA. By *Beatrice Hamilton.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. 201. $4.80.)

DR. Hamilton's book is a substantial contribution to discussion in English of Renaissance political theory in Spain, which, aside from the older work of Figgis and the Carlyles and the recent study by Günter Lewy of Mariana, has been noticeably slack. This book deals topically with the political ideas of four sixteenth-century professors, two Dominicans (Francisco de Vitoria and Domingo De Soto) and two Jesuits (Luis de Molina and Francisco Suarez). All four write well within the Thomist tradition of natural law; their contributions to that tradition, particularly those of De Soto, lie in their consideration and application of "natural law" to the inhabitants and societies of the New World.

The influence of Erasmus, as M. Bataillon has demonstrated, was very strong in Spain until Philip II's devotions repressed it. Both Dominicans had studied and lectured at Paris; though the two Jesuits were bound to the peninsula by Philip's ban on foreign study, Jesuit empiricism guaranteed their willingness to look at specific cases. In other words, Renaissance humanism, Erasmian tolerance, Paris nominalism, and Jesuit casuistry readied these men to take seriously the implications for natural law involved in the extension of the Spanish Empire. European awareness of "new" peoples and societies had an effect on sixteenth-century political theory in general, but only in Spain was the problem met squarely and in relation to the strong tradition of natural law. When other imperialist nations got around to thinking about subject peoples, the great day of natural law was long over.

For all these reasons, the unequivocable decision on the part of these four men that indigenous populations were subject to natural law, to its protections and privileges, and that their rights under natural law were stronger than the rights of their Spanish masters, is of great importance. Evidently the political theorists at home were more generous to native populations than practical administrators on the spot felt they needed or could afford to be; but the fact that these thinkers educated a generation of practical men through their lectures as well as exercised influence within their very powerful orders must be taken into consideration as an ameliorative force in Spanish administrative policy.

To take one or two more general examples of their thought: for all four men, the ruler was bound by law, natural and artificial. This was for them a self-evident proposition of natural law when applied to the temporal ruler, but all

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would have been shocked at Spinoza's subsequent application of the principle to God Himself. None encouraged Mariana's notorious *monarchomachia,* but Suarez, a fellow Jesuit, came to the conclusion that the killer of a manifest tyrant acted with the tacit consent and authority of the community. Naturally enough, all held that it is within the Church's power and duty to coerce princes, though they seemed to have been thinking in terms of the pope and James I of England rather than of the Spanish bishops and the Spanish king.

This clear, well-written, and analytical book is a significant incursion into an area too long ignored. The author tells us, in an instructive footnote on page 2, of the mass of material awaiting further work; it is to be hoped that she will undertake that formidable task.

State University of Iowa R. L. Colie

WILLIAM OF ORANGE: A PERSONAL PORTRAIT. Volume I, 1650–1673. By *Nesca A. Robb.* (New York: St Martin's Press. 1963. Pp. 317. $6.50.)

There has long been a need for a comprehensive scholarly biography of William III, the "stadholder-king" of Dutch history and the "Dutch William" of English history. The only work that at all meets the need is the two-volume biography by N. Japikse, *Prins Willem III* (1930–33), but works in the Dutch language continue to remain effectively outside the ken of most English-speaking historians. The opportunity to fill the gap has been taken up by Miss Nesca Robb, whose present volume on the youth of William III is intended to be the first of several comprising a life of the stadholder-king. With deep regret I am forced to report that this is an opportunity misused and missed. Robb prefaces her work with an apology for writing "a personal portrait" rather than a "life and times" according to tradition. An apology is needed, it is true, but rather for her wanton neglect of the elementary requirements of scholarship. In undertaking her study, she appears to have been blithely unaware that the institutions and practices of Dutch politics in the republican period are notoriously unsafe ground for the novice investigator, particularly the foreigner whose "natural" assumptions more often than not mislead and confuse. Her bibliography reveals a cursory knowledge of the relevant literature: how else are we to explain the total absence of the name of Pieter Geyl, whose *Oranje en Stuart* (1939) is *the* fundamental modern study of her period and her problem?

Her book lives up to the standard of her bibliography; it is a compound of ignorance and incomprehension to make one shake his head with amazement. When even the simplest facts are mishandled, does it really matter that the author displays neither insight nor sympathy for William's great adversary in his youth, Johan de Witt? Apparently the only qualifications Robb possessed for her self-assigned task were a modicum of writing style and "a lifelong interest" in her subject. Her pen, unfortunately, is not so gifted that it justifies as literature what it cannot as history, and her interest in William, however many years it endured, did not apparently go so far as to include serious study of the history of his na-

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tive country. What English historians can accomplish in the snarled history of Holland in this period has been demonstrated by C. R. Boxer and K. H. D. Haley; let us hope that if Robb continues with this work she will learn from them how to go about it. Let us also hope that a historian worthy of the task will not be dissuaded from it.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee HERBERT H. ROWEN

BELGIQUE ET CONGO: L'ÉLABORATION DE LA CHARTE COLONIALE. By *Jean Stengers*. [Collection "Notre passé."] (Brussels: Renaissance du Livre. 1963. Pp. 251.)

THE short history of the Congo Free State was not a happy one, and the bitterness it aroused reached a climax during negotiations for its transfer to Belgium between 1906 and 1908. Much of the controversy centered upon the terms of the Colonial Charter by which the new colony was to be governed, and this serves as the focus of Professor Stengers' excellent study.

In tracing the alteration of the Charter of 1908 from the drafts of 1895 and 1901, he has produced a comprehensive treatment of the relations between the Belgian government and the autocratic regime of Leopold II. Drawing upon materials in government archives and private collections in Belgium and in British Foreign Office documents, the author weighs the relative importance of external and internal pressures in the defeat of the King's attempt to retain authority behind a façade of parliamentary control. He assigns the primary role to a large minority in the Belgian Parliament, drawn from both the Left and the Right, who insisted on parliamentary control of the colonial budget. He concludes, however, that the cabinet and the King capitulated to this minority only because of the necessity of convincing the British government and British public opinion, outraged by the atrocities in the Leopoldian Congo, that the new arrangements had widespread support in Belgium.

Stengers avoids the partisan tone that has characterized earlier studies in this area. Unlike most Belgian scholars he recognizes that the British reformers were moved primarily by humanitarian rather than commercial motives. This dispassionate treatment leads, however, to a view of Leopold that is perhaps overgenerous. Surely the man who tolerated, if he did not initiate, the abuses of the rubber system, must be charged with something more serious than entertaining "out-of-date" colonial theories.

This well-written and well-documented work is the best treatment to date of this aspect of Belgian colonial history.

Notre Dame College of Staten Island CATHERINE ANN CLINE

ANTON FUGGER. Volume II, 1536–1548. Part 1, 1536–1543. By *Götz Freiherr von Pölnitz*. [Schwäbische Forschungsgemeinschaft bei der Kommission für

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bayerische Landesgeschichte, Fourth Series, Volume VIII. Studien zur Fuggergeschichte, Number 17.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1963. Pp. xvii, 656. Cloth DM 56, paper DM 50.)

AMPLITUDE of available source material has led Von Pölnitz to divide the second volume of his magisterial biography of Anton Fugger into two parts. The first part covers the uneasy years from 1536 to 1543.

Anton Fugger was deeply involved in the crosscurrents of events, in spite of his stubborn attempts to remain above the conflicting issues in order to retain independence of action to guard his wide-flung business interests. These attempts explain Anton's ambivalent business and financial policies during the period. One of Protestant controlled Augsburg's most distinguished and wealthiest citizens, he remained firmly attached to Catholicism, although his religious outlook was moderate and irenic. He acted as a banker and purveyor for high-ranking prelates, and, at the same time, he expanded his business relations with Protestant princes. Some members of his family and several of his key associates embraced Lutheranism without his censure. With the same disregard for contending forces, he maintained throughout the period an active, though prudently camouflaged, economic liaison with France.

All of Anton's varied business connections and financial transactions were dwarfed in volume and value by his dealings with the Habsburgs. And all his attempts to retain an independent course of action foundered because of this. Every major operation required the approval of his regal overlords, Charles V and Ferdinand. He needed their good will and their protection. They needed him, his money, and his firm's organizational network and facilities to maintain their empire, to centralize their territorial administrations, and to carry on their wars. Anton could still address his King on an equal footing, but in the interplay of political and financial power, the locus of dominance was clearly shifting toward the state.

Von Pölnitz' chief thesis—the inextricable interdependency of state policy and finance—is efficiently demonstrated and has probably never been documented more abundantly. Indeed, the book impresses one less as a conventional biography of Anton Fugger than as a chronologically developed case study of a depersonalized entrepreneur. The text is primarily a connecting tissue for the more than eighteen hundred footnotes which, in smaller type than the text, pre-empt a dozen more pages than the narrative. Most of these notes are far more than source citations, serving as a means for presenting new and detailed primary data and abstracts from important documents. It is here that the student will find a storehouse bursting with invaluable information. Such an organization, unfortunately, hampers the development of a free-flowing style and, far more seriously, reduces effective generalization and synthesis. In his brief foreword, Von Pölnitz defends himself against the major reviews of his first volume (including the one in the *AHR,* LXV [July 1960], 899), many of which were critical on the

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same score, by justifying his approach as one that makes available a maximum of information on an enormous amount of new source material in as minimal a space as possible. Even though one may take exception to the author's limited approach, one has to agree that his contribution to scholarship is both valuable and substantial.

Von Pölnitz' contribution would be greatly enhanced and fellow scholars immensely cheered if henceforth he would systematize the vast array of data which are at present immersed among the numerous footnotes. Annual statistical tables would enable the reader to see significant trends at a glance. The student would also welcome systematically arranged comparative data on both cooperative and competitive ventures of Anton's prominent contemporaries in the business, financial, and "industrial" world. This would, without diminishing the stature of Anton, place him more solidly into the context of his time. Likewise, to visualize the changing Fugger empire, it would be helpful if there were maps appended to each volume, similar to the one in the author's *Jakob Fugger,* Volume II (1951), showing the principal trade centers where Fugger factors were located, pointing out the various Fugger mining enterprises and the sites where the extracted ores were marketed, outlining major trade routes, and depicting the estates that the family acquired (or disposed of) at home and abroad.

Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn FELIX F. STRAUSS

STILLBORN REVOLUTION: THE COMMUNIST BID FOR POWER IN GERMANY, 1921–1923. By *Werner T. Angress.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. xv, 513. $10.00.)

THIS impressive study commands virtually all the materials available to non-Communist investigators and provides an eminently readable account of the German Communist party during its most crucial period in the Weimar Republic.

Professor Angress is concerned with what he calls the *Kampfzeit* of the party, the period 1918–1923. But since the early years have been so well explored by such monographs as those of Waldman, Tormin, and Kolb, he deals with this period in a perceptive and balanced résumé that uses, and credits, the latest specialized research. He concentrates on the less well-known and equally important years from 1921 through 1923.

Angress does not parade his encyclopedic knowledge. Rather, with quiet authority, he uses exemplary scholarship to illumine and adjudicate such complex and previously controverted issues as the March uprising of 1921, the "German October" of 1923, the intrigues surrounding the "Left Opposition," the inanities of the "Policy of the United Front," and the period of National Bolshevism, a time when German Communists sedulously wooed the murderers of Rosa Luxemburg and when Ruth Fischer—of all people—tried to match the Nazis in vicious anti-Semitic invective.

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The author describes the increasing control that Moscow exerted over the party and argues persuasively that the KPD had already lost its independence before Stalin achieved dictatorial power. One is struck throughout by the ineptitude, indeed, the downright stupidity of Communist leadership both at the level of the German *Zentrale* and at the Kremlin. In 1921, for example, the leaders plunged the party into an uprising that was "unprepared, improvised, and absolutely unorganized." Again, in 1923 when inflation and despair seemed to offer opportunity for success, Communist leadership was pathetically ignorant of actual conditions in Germany and paralyzed by indecision. Throughout the entire period the party was confronted by an insoluble dilemma: as a revolutionary party it needed wide support from the German masses, but it also felt obliged to follow orders from the Kremlin—orders that plunged it into the irresponsible putschist activity, abusive obstructionism, and callous duplicity that were bound to alienate the support it required, and to isolate it from the rest of the socialist movement. Thus the KPD not only ruined its own chances for success; "all the party's tactics achieved in the long run was . . . irreparable damage to the political influence of the entire German labor movement."

The book is written with a clarity, force, and pace that command the reader's attention throughout—no small feat in a specialized study of such depth, detail, and close interpretive analysis. Not the least of its contributions are the vivid portraits it provides of a dozen party types: the acerbic Levi, the volatile and illusive Radek, the wily Zinoviev, the complex and courageous Ernst Reuter-Friesland, erstwhile general secretary of the KPD and later heroic mayor of beleaguered West Berlin—all come alive in these pages.

A first-rate critical bibliographical essay completes this distinguished volume.

Williams College ROBERT G. L. WAITE

METTERNICH'S GERMAN POLICY. Volume I, THE CONTEST WITH NAPOLEON, 1799-1814. By *Enno E. Kraehe*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 351. $7.50.)

PROFESSOR Enno E. Kraehe of the University of Kentucky gives us in this book an engrossing narrative history of the development of Metternich's German policy from its genesis in his youthful experiences as a victim of the French Revolution, through the period of his efforts to prevent Napoleon from establishing his hegemony in Europe, to the last months before the allies' march on Paris, when he became convinced that Alexander's ambition to dominate Germany had become the chief threat to the European power equilibrium and hence to Austria's welfare. A function of his French and Russian policies, Metternich's German policy was based on his belief that a strong federation of the lesser German states under the joint supervision of Austria and Prussia must be created in Central Europe as a counterforce to the flanking powers.

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The narrative method chosen by Kraehe contributes to the admirable definition with which he depicts each stage in the evolution of Metternich's ideas. Another advantage, as Kraehe points out, is that it introduces a discussion of Metternich's problems when he encountered them, as they appeared to him then and not as they appear to posterity. It does not preclude the needed analysis of motives and reactions, for the narrative is concerned not only with external events but with what went on in the minds of the principals.

Kraehe stresses the period before Metternich became Foreign Minister in 1809 as the "formative" period in his evolution as a statesman. When he first entered public life, he was swayed by the horror of the Revolution commonly felt by men of his class. Later, while serving as Austrian ambassador at Dresden and Berlin, he developed an "increasingly dispassionate judgment." In his Paris post he was able to believe in the possibility of diplomatic negotiation with the French Emperor until he discovered that, as Kraehe puts it, "the lust for personal power could be every bit as demonic as the revolutionary fury." Napoleon's founding of the Rhine federation, together with the terms of the Treaty of Pressburg, proved to Metternich that he was insatiable; he made war against the powers, Metternich declared, as Robespierre made it against the châteaux.

The riddle of Metternich's desire to appease Napoleon in 1813–1814, for which historians have offered various explanations, is examined in some detail. His preference for a Bonaparte over a Bourbon, Kraehe notes, was conditional: Napoleon's fall would leave a power vacuum in France that no weak Bourbon could fill, thus opening the way to revolution. Moreover, with a strong French monarch holding Russia and Prussia in check, the lesser German states would feel free to turn to Austria for leadership. Kraehe rejects the widespread view that Metternich feigned friendship for Napoleon in order the more easily to destroy him and also the suggestion that he was deeply committed to save the son-in-law of Emperor Franz.

Much of the ground covered in this book, as Kraehe admits in his preface, has been covered before. In fact, Metternich's German policy as reflected in his contest with Napoleon has been treated so exhaustively by other scholars that Kraehe says he has not found it necessary or possible to use only unpublished material. His book provides, however, a painstaking synthesis of the copious literature about Metternich and Napoleon and in many instances a new arrangement of the facts that heightens their significance. When it has seemed necessary to correct some earlier interpretation, the author has gone back to primary sources. The result is a full, well-balanced, and reliable treatment of the subject. Kraehe promises a second volume on Metternich's contest with Alexander from 1814 to 1820, about which much less has been written. One can look forward to it with high expectations.

To offer a few minor criticisms: it seems to me that Kraehe is almost excessively detached; there are places in his narrative where he might well have offered some editorial comment to aid the reader's understanding of policies and

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events. Important figures are often introduced without identification, and one notices uncertainty about the form of titles. These of course are trifling defects in what is on the whole an extremely interesting and praiseworthy work.

Queens College ANDREW G. WHITESIDE

METTERNICH, REORGANIZATION AND NATIONALITY, 1813–1818: A STORY OF FORESIGHT AND FRUSTRATION IN THE REBUILDING OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE. By *Arthur G. Haas*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz, Number 28. Abteilung Universalgeschichte.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1963. Pp. viii, 244. DM 28.)

AUSTRIA's failure to find that degree of institutional stability which might have permitted it to survive the strains of nationalism and liberalism has become a fashionable and fruitful field for research. In this study of Austrian administration in northern Italy, Arthur Haas seeks to determine whether or not Metternich recognized the problems of nationalism and the dangers inherent in them. Taking issue with the traditional view of Metternich, which accepts his own estimate of himself as a man consistent in principle, he shows us a cosmopolitan statesman capable of flexibility and originality. The painfully slow pace of public affairs in the Habsburg Empire, usually ascribed to Austrian lethargy, is here shown to be in part at least the product of fundamental disagreement over policy at the highest levels. What emerges is a conflict of wills between the Emperor Francis and Metternich. It was an unequal contest. The provincialism and stupidity of the Emperor ultimately stood in the way of any solution whatever. Where Metternich, following the advice of men on the scene, urged decentralization and retention of "useful" local institutions, the Emperor insisted on tidy uniformity and conformity with Austrian administrative practices. Metternich's policy could not prevail without the Emperor's consent and cooperation. The Emperor's policy was simply impractical.

This investigation, however, seldom succeeds in balancing the most general discussion of policy with a picture of the events to which this policy reacted. Much is said about "discontent" in Italy and about "deterioration of public opinion," but such comments remain on the most general level and could suggest anything from simple lethargy to outright rebellion. The conclusions offered here would be more convincing if presented against a more detailed background. The research is impressively painstaking, and fully a third of the volume bears the heavy burden of apparatus. Included in this section is a useful series of short biographies of Austrian officials. The text is cautiously and conscientiously written in the style of modern dissertations; some of the translations from German documents are awkwardly literal. Topical organization would have made this book more readable. Information that should be part of the background is scattered throughout the book. For example, a summary of the agencies of

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Austrian internal administration is found on page 119, but any reader would have welcomed this at the beginning. This is a useful monograph; it is to be regretted that more pains were not taken to make it a better book.

Haverford College JOHN P. SPIELMAN, JR.

IL PROBLEMA ITALIANO NEI TESTI DI UNA BATTAGLIA PUBBLICISTICA: GLI OPUSCOLI DEL VISCONTE DE LA GUÉRONNIÈRE. In four volumes. By *Armando Saitta*. [Italia e Europa: Collezione per il primo Centenario dell'Unità.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1963; 1963; 1963; 1964. Pp. xix, 377; 427; 462; 502, 174. L. 3,500; L. 3,500; L. 3,500; L. 2,000.)

ON the occasion of the centennial celebration of Italian unification, the *Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea* has sponsored publication of two significant new series of studies and documents, entitled respectively "Italia e l'Europa" and "L'Italia unita." Inaugurating the former series is Armando Saitta's four-volume collection, devoted to a study of the impact upon public opinion of the two pamphlets in behalf of Italian unity that Emperor Napoleon III caused to be written in 1859 by the Viscount de la Guéronnière.

The first pamphlet, "L'empereur Napoléon III et l'Italie," appeared in Paris on February 4, 1859, and gave encouragement to the Italian patriots. The second, "Le Pape et le Congrès," appeared on December 22, 1859, some months after Napoleon's unexpected armistice at Villafranca, and called for action by a European congress to safeguard the pope's temporal power during the process of Italian emancipation.

Saitta has performed a commendable service in setting forth what little is known about Viscount de la Guéronnière and the circumstances that surrounded publication of his pamphlets. Specialists will be grateful to Saitta for exhuming many examples of the European press reaction to the two pamphlets. The editor gathered his materials from libraries and archives in Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and Switzerland. No doubt he could have found more if he had had the time and the linguistic preparation to examine publications in other countries.

Volumes I and II are devoted to the reaction to "L'empereur Napoléon III et l'Italie." Some 200 pages set forth various comments by the French press; about 100 reflect Italian press reaction; some 25 that in Austria; another 260 that in Germany; and about 130 that in other countries. Saitta's sampling of the British press seems unduly sparse, and there is some editorial carelessness in reproducing accurately the English texts. Volumes III and IV deal with the repercussions to "Le Pape et le Congrès." Saitta presents more than 400 pages of mixed French and Italian press reactions, 60 of generally hostile Austrian ones, 10 of sympathetic English comment, and 110 of varying opinions in other countries.

In a separate appendix to Volume IV are reprinted comments on Italian unification by Émile Carrey, special French emissary to Sicily in 1861; a pamphlet

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of 1862 by Baron Anatole de Brenier, the last French minister to Naples; and observations by the federalist P.-J. Proudhon regarding the differing ideas of Mazzini and Garibaldi on unification. Saitta explains that he has deliberately omitted comments by Mazzini, as his collected writings are now available in most Italian libraries. The same is true for Marx and Engels, since their observations about Italian unification have recently been made available in the collection, *Sul Risorgimento italiano,* edited by E. Ragionieri (1959), as well as in F. Della Peruta, *Democratici italiani e democratici tedeschi di fronte all'unità d'Italia (1859–1861),* in "Annali Feltrinelli, 1960."

Vanderbilt University CHARLES F. DELZELL

CENTO ANNI DI STUDI SULLA ROMAGNA, 1861–1961: BIBLIOGRAFIA STORICA. In two volumes. INDICI (AUTORI—LOCALITÀ ROMAGNOLE—NOMI DI PERSONA). By *Augusto Vasina.* [Società di Studi Romagnoli.] (Faenza: Fratelli Lega, Editori. 1962; 1963; 1963. Pp. xxxii, 413; 591; vi, 127.)

"RENOVATIO IMPERII": ATTI DELLA GIORNATA INTERNAZIONALE DI STUDIO PER IL MILLENARIO (RAVENNA, 4–5 NOVEMBRE 1961). [Società di Studi Romagnoli.] (Faenza: Fratelli Lega, Editori. 1963. Pp. 156.)

IN recent years Italian provincial and regional historical societies have been busy collecting and publishing monographs and books on interesting aspects of local history. With the publication of this historical bibliography, the Society for the Studies on Romagna has rendered a distinguished service to scholars the world over. Begun more than eight years ago as a modest repertory of works on the history of Ravenna, the project was soon enlarged to include everything that was written on Emilia during the century following the unification of the country. However, confronted with more than 30,000 references, Augusto Vasina, the compiler, was then forced to limit the bibliography to Romagna. The compiler has wisely excluded ephemeral articles published in newspapers and in dailies. He has, however, included monographs, pamphlets, articles that have been published in Italian and foreign reviews and periodicals, encylopedias, and in the more important dictionaries. He has also included references found in library catalogues, repertories, registers in local and private libraries, and in the Apostolic and private libraries of the Vatican. In addition to a volume containing three indexes—authors, localities in Romagna, and names of persons—the bibliography, comprising 15,164 references, is divided into two volumes arranged by geographical location: Volume I, Romagna, Ravenna, and Imola with their surroundings, and the Romagna of the Estensi; Volume II, Tuscan Romagna, Faenza, Forlì, Cesena, Rimini, and their respective surroundings, the republic of San Marino, and Montifeltro of Romagna. The minor localties are grouped in alphabetical order under the territorial jurisdiction of the principal cities to which they belong.

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As another distinct service to scholars, the society has also published the transactions of the congress that took place in Ravenna, November 4–5, 1961, to commemorate the millennium of the *Renovatio Imperii*. This, as is known, refers to the renovation of the empire of Charlemagne, accomplished in 962 by Otto I of Saxony, who, out of the kingdoms of Italy and Germany, established the Holy Roman Empire which lasted several centuries. The volume contains the introductory remarks of Giorgio Cencetti, the president of the Executive Council of the society, and the texts in Italian or French of the following papers: Augusto Torre, "Ravenna and the Empire" (Italian); Percy Ernst Schramm, "The Emperors of the House of Saxony in the Light of the Symbolism of the State" (Italian); Aleksander Gieysztor, "Christian Republic and the Eastern Policy of the Empire" (French); F. L. Ganshof, "The Program of the Imperial Government of Charlemagne" (French); Eugenio Dupré Theseider, "Otto I and Italy" (Italian). An appendix contains the catalogue of the exhibit at the Classense Library prepared by Augusto Vasina. The congress and the publication of the transactions were made possible by financial contributions from the commune, the chamber of commerce, savings banks, provincial tourist groups, Lyons Club, Rotary Club, and other local bodies.

Columbia University HOWARD R. MARRARO

DER WARSCHAUER AUFSTAND 1944. By *Hanns von Krannhals*. (Frankfurt am Main: Bernard & Graefe Verlag für Wehrwesen. 1962. Pp. 445. DM 36.)

AMONG the many human tragedies of World War II, the uprising of the Polish underground in Warsaw in the fall of 1944 was one of the most heartbreaking. Almost twenty years have passed since the destruction of Warsaw and the death of nearly 200,000 of its inhabitants and fighters in the ruins of the Polish capital during the battle for its liberation, yet the memories of the disaster still weigh heavily on the conscience of the world. The intricate and often confusing events that surrounded this tragedy are the subject of Hanns von Krannhals' recent book.

The author has made a noteworthy effort to bring order into the chaos that characterized the moves of the contestants in this cruel struggle. He has pieced together a composite picture approaching his subject from different directions: the growth and activities of the Polish underground, the workings of the German occupation, and the impact of the insurgency on international relations and law. But the heart of his narrative is the now legendary battle itself. In each of these major parts of the book, which read like separate essays, Krannhals succeeds in presenting new information in historical perspective and allowing the reader to arrive at his own conclusions. The facts are revealed apodictically, the author letting the blame fall as it may, without attempting to offer apologies. The drawbacks of the topical treatment are a loss of continuity and sometimes, perhaps unavoidably, repetition.

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Those seeking sensational revelations in this book will be disappointed. Memoirs, official histories, and, above all, collections of documents have established the facts that the uprising was ill timed, amateurishly executed, and that it could not succeed because Stalin disavowed it and the Western Allies could not help for technical and diplomatic reasons. The author impartially reinforces these conclusions with detailed evidence and with perception. He has thus made a valuable contribution to a special episode of World War II, although a definitive history of the tragic Warsaw uprising will have to wait until the Soviet Union sees fit to open its secret archives.

Washington, D. C. CHARLES V. P. VON LUTTICHAU

SERGEI WITTE AND THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF RUSSIA. By *Theodore H. Von Laue.* [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 360. $7.50.)

As Russian Minister of Finance between 1892 and 1903, Sergei Witte undertook a program of rapid industrialization which, for a backward and poverty-stricken country, if not altogether unprecedented, was still extremely daring and ambitious. He hoped within a short time to lift Russia to the level of a great industrial power. Indeed, he argued, given the predatory nature of the European state system and the increasingly obvious dependence of military on industrial power, Russia had very soon to attain a high level of industrialization or cease to be a sovereign power at all. Through an ingenious but essentially simple "system" of state capitalism (involving a currency based on the gold standard, protective tariffs, government sponsorship of railroad construction) Witte helped to create an industrial upsurge that may have failed to achieve its purpose, yet not without impressive results. It "failed" in so far as Witte's purpose was indissolubly connected with the preservation of the institution of autocracy. Yet it provided the base from which arose the second, "successful" industrial upsurge of the Soviet Five-Year Plans. Given the exigencies of the world we now live in, in which the Soviet Union and the "emergent" or still emerging nations play so enormous a role, everything about the "Witte system"—the circumstances under which it was conceived, the man who conceived it, the details of its operation, its successes and failures—has assumed a fateful interest indeed.

Since 1954 Professor Von Laue has been publishing a series of articles on various aspects of the Witte system and its implications, and so the present book, for which the articles were a preparation, became a kind of classic even before publication. No one since Witte's lifetime and outside the Soviet Union (where the publication of a new edition of Witte's memoirs is among the signs of a revival of interest) has raised so eloquently and so urgently the need for a thorough appraisal of Witte and his work. This book does not, in my opinion, provide such an appraisal in itself.

It is too bare, too sparse in detail, too restricted in scope. Along with its lack of density and concreteness in presentation, the book suffers from a certain heavy-

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handedness, as of an argument already decided, a lack of inspired nuance. I do not mean to imply that Von Laue, in his efforts to redeem Witte, leaves the arguments against the man and the system out of account. He is far too judicious a scholar for that. Nevertheless, he chops the alternatives short, and short of alternatives he leaps all too hastily to necessitarian conclusions. According to the author, the Witte system with all its admitted defects provided the only means for industrializing Russia given the context of the political order. Its failure in turn rendered inevitable not only the collapse of the old political order but the triumph of Bolshevism. While, in sweet-wishing America, it is certainly salutary to be reminded in so Euripidean a manner that "Necessity is harsh," Von Laue's necessity strikes me as at least too crudely and too abruptly arrived at. The childishness of Witte's political imagination, especially when contrasted with the boldness of his economic vision and the intensity of his administrative energy, though suggested and implied at a number of points, is never given its full due. Nor does the author really undertake a meaningful comparison between the Witte program and more or less analogous attempts at rapid industrialization elsewhere, notably Germany and Japan. Nor does he attempt to explain the similarities and differences between the Russia of 1892 and that of 1928. There is, of course, a sense in which everything happens in the only possible world. I do not think, however, that scholars should fall back on that sense until more of the playfulness of possibility has been exhausted than is the case in this otherwise competent, impressive, and important book.

University of Rochester SIDNEY MONAS

THE THEORY, LAW, AND POLICY OF SOVIET TREATIES. By *Jan F. Triska* and *Robert M. Slusser*. [Hoover Institution Publications.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 593. $10.00.)

PROFESSORS Triska and Slusser have placed workers in a number of fields in their debt with the publication of this important study. In some six hundred pages of text Slusser and Triska discuss ideological, legal, and political problems of Soviet international behavior as applied to and as involved in the formulation of 2,516 international agreements entered into by Soviet Russia from its establishment on November 7, 1917, through the end of 1957. Some of the material presented also relates to the period since 1957. The results of the vast labor of the authors, their research assistants, and other collaborators have tremendous reference value; they are also valuable for the insights and interpretations presented.

The briefest section of the study is the introduction, which emphasizes the especially high degree of significance of international treaties for Soviet foreign policy. Although outwardly paradoxical, this Soviet reliance on treaties, which was not arrived at and formulated without many shifts in doctrine, is understandable. As a revolutionary state, the Soviet Union emphasized treaties in order to consolidate its hard-won power position and in order to overcome the long-established bias toward custom in non-Soviet interpretations of international law.

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The long section on the Soviet law of treaties combines a basically topical form of organization with a vast mass of historical material. The authors discuss such topics as the nature, scope, and validity of treaties as well as problems of the interpretation, termination, and denunciation of treaties. In a careful and objective review of the Soviet position regarding these and other problems, the authors cite a tremendous mass of evidence based on statements by the outstanding and authoritative Soviet legal scholars, such as Korovin, Pashukanis, and Kozhevnikov, and also refer to numerous specific instances. They are sensitive to the ideological, international, and other contexts within which Soviet treaty behavior must be interpreted. One of the interesting features of their treatment is that they not only pay scrupulous attention to Soviet actions and statements, but also point out, when it is appropriate, the areas on which the Soviets have made no pronouncements and have adopted no defined position. An example is the failure of the Soviet literature to take a position regarding the question as to whether or not international treaties survive severance of diplomatic relations between the parties to a treaty. With regard to the important question of the effect of war on Soviet treaties, the authors point out that while after World War I the Soviet government took the position that the war had abrogated all bilateral treaties and suspended the operation of multilateral treaties, after World War II the Soviet Union had acquired a vested interest in preserving certain prewar treaties. In summing up this section of their study, the authors note that while Soviet treaty law is not widely different from Western treaty law there is one very important and profound area of difference. Soviet treaty law is exceptionally "politically oriented," and this fact has enormous ramifications. It leads to an unusually vigilant, negative, obstructive, and suspicious Soviet attitude toward treaty drafting and observance.

The long section on Soviet treaty policy gives a useful classification of treaties by "partners" and breaks agreements down into political treaties, such as those of alliance, mutual assistance and regional treaties, and treaties of nonaggression, neutrality, and peace. It then proceeds through five chapters on various kinds of economic treaties, which are also presented in chronological order, and concludes with a chapter on "Functional and Technical Agreements; Cultural Treaties." Finally, there is a chapter on multilateral treaties, open and closed treaties, and secret treaties. The interesting section on secret treaties points out that Lenin was never against all secret treaties, but was simply against "secret diplomacy." In connection with this peculiarly Soviet distinction, the authors present much evidence that "the Soviet government has practiced what it has preached to be evil."

In the concluding section of the study entitled "The Conflict," Triska and Slusser apply to such issues as peaceful settlement of treaty disputes and the problem of treaty violations their understanding of the Soviet view that "there is no such thing as a world community." While, in their opinion, Soviet behavior is not primarily determined by an inflexible ideology, the Soviet attitude toward a number of crucial issues is more negative than that of other states. In particular, it is characterized by an exceptionally sharp gulf between practice and theory. In

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this section and elsewhere in the study the authors present striking evidence of the consequences of the dependence of Soviet scholarship upon immediate, practical, and shifting political considerations. An important point made throughout the study and especially in its concluding chapters is the increasing sophistication of Soviet legal scholarship. With regard to Soviet foreign policy, the authors are cautiously optimistic, stressing the Soviet desire to "improve" the *status quo* rather than to risk actions that might destroy the *status quo* and the achievements and advantages gained by the Soviet Union through its years of stubborn and skillful political struggle. The authors approach their material with a happy combination of objectivity and realism. Their study is useful to all those who believe that the West must strive for coexistence, but must be aware that the Communists seek to turn this relationship to their own exclusive advantage.

Yale University FREDERICK C. BARGHOORN

Near East

THE POLITICS OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA. By *Manfred Halpern*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. xxv, 431. $8.50.)

DIAGNOSIS, prognosis, and prescription are the equal concerns of this policy-oriented study. The diagnosis is that traditional Islamic society has been transformed. This transformation has created new men—a salaried new middle class, peasants, and urban wage earners—whose very weight "sooner or later cannot help but overthrow a system that refuses to contain them." The salaried new middle class, whose aim is modernization, is by far the most important element in the revolutionary situation. The army is the vanguard and instrument of this new class, which has attained power in most of the region. The author's prognosis is that there are a variety of alternative programs and instruments, and that the outlook is not entirely clear. Prognosis merges with prescription. Halpern holds Islamic reformism, and both Neo-Islamic and Communist totalitarianism in low esteem and tentatively marks them as least likely to succeed. Nationalism is both inevitable and necessary, but it contains risk as well as promise. The way forward will be toward democracy via an authoritarian government, in which the army will play a leading role and which will prepare for the future by carrying out a program of modernization and social reform while tutoring the masses by means of guided political parties and labor unions.

Halpern has constructed an impressive model, but neither he nor the extensive secondary literature which is his chief documentation provides sufficient discussion of the crucial questions. He fails to see that contemporary Arab socialism shares vital characteristics with both Islamic modernism and Islamic revivalism and that the three are genetically related. He gives no consideration to the important role played by members of the "traditional elite" in the new regimes in the eastern

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Arab states, and he does not explicate the precise significance of the various social reforms. In short, I am not convinced that Halpern's model, which is composed of commonplace elements, can be confirmed. Nevertheless, the book contains much that is perceptive and penetrating, notably discussions of the pertinence of classical Islamic culture to modern problems, the prevalence of government by a minority, the role of Communism, the limitations imposed by scarcity, and the pre-eminence in contemporary political culture of a desire for modernization. Of the fairly numerous attempts to construct an explanatory model for the contemporary Near and Middle East, this is the most systematic, the most fully and explicitly developed, and the best documented.

University of Illinois C. Ernest Dawn

Africa

SOUTH WEST AFRICA. By *Ruth First.* [Penguin African Library.] (Baltimore: Penguin Books. 1963. Pp. 269. $1.25.)

PRELUDE TO THE PARTITION OF WEST AFRICA. By *John D. Hargreaves.* (New York: St Martin's Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 383. $12.00.)

Ruth First has contributed an interesting short history of South-West Africa. She begins with the early penetration by British and Dutch traders and concludes with an analysis of the problems that became acute since the Nationalist government took over in 1948. Her account of the colony under German rule is scanty except for a detailed description of the Herero rebellion in 1904. She condemns German policy which reduced the Herero population from "over 80,000 cattle-rich tribesmen to 15,000 starving fugitives." The greater portion of the book deals with South-West Africa under the Union of South Africa. The author is concerned about the relationship between European and African from the "Lean Years of the Mandate" to current efforts to implement apartheid. The unsuccessful efforts of the Mandate Commission of the League and the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations to protect the Africans are discussed. The author, now under house arrest in Johannesburg, made every effort to get the African side of the story. She feels the outcome must be tragic unless outside forces "intervene before it is too late." The book is well written, journalistic in style, and, since it provides information not readily available elsewhere, is useful for students of African affairs. The sources upon which the study is based are indicated at the end; they are comprehensive, and the author has made good use of them. Scholars, however, will be disappointed because there is no documentation accompanying the text.

Professor Hargreaves has produced a definitive study of the scramble for position in West Africa during the quarter century before the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885 initiated a more formal movement to partition Africa. The area included in "West Africa" stretches along the coast from the Senegal River to the Cameroons. Inland it extends eastward to the longitude of Lake Chad. The study

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is an excellent analysis of the processes of "diplomatic doodling" by which African frontiers were "determined by distant and ill-informed negotiators" yet, according to Hargreaves, their arbitrary character is often overemphasized. He points out that European claims frequently were determined by treaties with African rulers; thus colonial boundaries often coincided with traditional lines.

The author endeavors to show the relationship between government policy, the interests of traders and missionary groups, and the reaction of African rulers to imperialistic penetration. He is more successful in analyzing the impact of European pressure groups than explaining the role of Africans. A good illustration of the former is provided in Chapter IV in which he shows how the "Gambia Lobby," and other groups, defeated a proposal by England and France to exchange territory in 1869–1876. This involved the surrender of Gambia and Sierra Leone to France in exchange for modern Ghana, Togoland, Dahomey, and Nigeria, thus consolidating a large area under a single British administration. This proposal, if accepted, "could have saved both powers much trouble and anxiety during the rest of the century." The British, who found comfort in the slogan "peace and retrenchment," were more reluctant than France to pursue a strong policy in West Africa, yet they clung tenaciously to areas where their interests were involved.

The study is based upon extensive research in British and French archives and in the archives of Sierra Leone. Private collections of manuscripts and unpublished theses have been carefully exploited. The list of published material is comprehensive, and so the omission of standard works like Herbert I. Priestley, *France Overseas,* and Stephen H. Roberts, *History of French Colonial Policy,* is surprising.

Temple University ARTHUR N. COOK

BANTU, BOER, AND BRITON: THE MAKING OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE PROBLEM. By *W. M. Macmillan.* (Rev. and enlarged ed.; New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xviii, 382. $8.00.)

PROFESSOR William Miller Macmillan can fairly be regarded as one of the principal founders, if not *the* founder, of the modern school of liberal South African historians. Departing from the frontier outlook and political preoccupations of George McCall Theal and Sir George Cory—neither of them trained historians—he brought a fresh approach to South African historical and contemporary problems. Some of his pupils became distinguished historians, among them J. S. Marais, Lucy Sutherland, and C. W. de Kiewiet. One has only to read Macmillan's work with de Kiewiet's brilliant essay, *A History of South Africa, Social and Economic* (1941), to obtain a measure of his influence as a scholar and teacher.

Since 1945 there has been a rapid change in the approach to African history, and a rereading of *Bantu, Boer, and Briton* shows one how early Macmillan was aware of the need for a change. Throughout his career he pleaded with white South Africans to see their country's problems in a wider African context, to

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realize that the conduct of the Bantu was just as worthy of historical examination as that of South Africa's white frontiersmen, and to accept the idea that contemporary judgments might need revision. All his books are, therefore, both serious historical works and moving tracts for the times.

The Cape Colour Question (1927) and *Bantu, Boer, and Briton* (1st ed., 1929) are the only works that were based on the John Philip Papers, destroyed by fire in 1934. As superintendent in South Africa for the London Missionary Society from 1818 to 1850, Philip was involved in disputes over British policy on the eastern and northern frontiers of Cape Colony, and he remains in the minds of most white South Africans the prototype of the meddling missionary, grossly misrepresenting the frontier farmer to an ignorant and vacillating imperial government. In *Bantu, Boer, and Briton,* Macmillan is at pains to show that Bantu resistance to expansion by white farmers at Bantu expense was understandable and justified, that it is easy to exaggerate Philip's influence, and that some official actions for which he is held responsible were taken against his advice. Philip persistently urged the expansion of the area of permanent civil administration, and, had he been listened to, the frontier of the African reserves would today be nearer to the Fish River, rather than at the Kei. It can hardly be said that Macmillan has succeeded in persuading many white South Africans to change their judgment of Philip or their beliefs as to what happened: the rulers of South Africa maintain with much conviction that the present division of landholding between the races is historically just; that is, no dispossession of the Bantu took place.

The new edition reproduces with some rearrangement the material in the first edition, fortunately much of it quoted at some length. Macmillan has added some notes from the extracts he made when he saw the Philip collection; it is a pity that the additions are not more clearly marked. The combination of tract and scholarly work raises difficult questions for the editor: this is really a reissue of a classic rather than a second edition brought thoroughly up to date. Recently J. S. Galbraith in *Reluctant Empire* (1963) has raised important issues on the same period. It might, therefore, have been better to have reissued the original edition as it stood, added a note on material not included before, and discussed separately the continuing relevance of the work to South Africa today.

Boston University JEFFREY BUTLER

Asia and the East

A HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA. Volume I, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE AGE OF MACQUARIE. By *C. M. H. Clark*. (Parkville: Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1962. Pp. 422. $10.00.)

No work on Australian history published in the last decade has created such controversy or been the subject of such widely divergent assessments as the latest volume from Professor Manning Clark of the School of General Studies in the

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Australian National University. Reviews in Australian journals have ranged from the most adulatory to the most derogatory, from hosannas for "a major contribution to English literature" to long lists of putative errors. That errors do occur there is no doubt, but I also have no doubt about the exceptional significance of this book. It is superbly written, wry, learned, idiosyncratic; in the final analysis it is a very Australian book, reminding one of the attitudes and even the diction of Kenneth Slessor, James McAuley, and Patrick White. It is lonely, a bit driven, a bit despairing, and exciting in a way that few books that recount twice-told tales can be, for in this accounting the tale of Australian settlement and development to 1824 is fresh once again.

Clark emphasizes the roles of "chance and circumstance" in history, and he is both compassionate and willing to pass judgments in a way few historians of this monographic age dare. Many scholars might legitimately take exception to a description of William Paterson as "born with a sanguine temperament and an inveterate distaste for difficult situations"; to the Portuguese as "men stained by sin"; or to the Biblical sonorities of "doom and disaster . . . waywardness and debauchery" that dot these pages. But Clark views with "that eye of pity with which an historian should contemplate those who are powerless to avoid the anguish in their last days"; he sights "the fatal flaw" in human character. He begins his story (and either offends or captures his reader at once) by a cryptic, scholarly, almost bitter contrast between the myths of the Hindu, Chinese, and Moslem neighbors of Australia and the oral and written traditions of the Europeans who first came to the region.

He uses much of his own research (on the origin of the convicts, for example), a wide range of manuscripts, and an extensive array of secondary accounts. His bibliography is extremely useful, and his penchant for using poetry and poetic allusion (similar to his countrymen R. Max Crawford and Russel Ward) is attractive. The emphasis he places on individuals and their human condition, and on the influence of religion in Australian life, rather in the way A. R. M. Lower views religion in the Canadian context (and in remarkable contrast to A. L. McLeod, who in *The Pattern of Australian Culture* [1963] finds no religious influence at all), will create major problems for him as he moves on to his second volume, when his landscape will be crowded with larger personalities. But on the strength of this first volume—and the preview we have been given of what is to come in Clark's more recent *Short History of Australia* (1964)—we will be safe in saying that, with and without its errors of local fact, this history will be one of the truly major contributions to Australian historiography.

Yale University ROBIN W. WINKS

THE DISCOVERY OF AUSTRALIA. By *Andrew Sharp*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 338. $8.00.)

THE objective of this beautifully printed and illustrated volume is to trace the sequence of discovery of the various sections of the Australian and Tasmanian

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coasts, thus providing an up-to-date study of the written revelation of Australia to the world at large. The theme is executed as much as possible by direct quotation from firsthand accounts by the discoverers themselves or their assistants. Not only have extracts from foreign-language texts been translated anew, but relevant portions of their charts have been included. Many of the excerpts give information on the flora, fauna, and aborigines of Australia during the discovery period. The author has presented forty-five separate voyages, from the first European discovery of Australia, when the Dutch ship, the *Duyfken,* under Willem Jansz and Jan Roossengin, sailed along the south coast of New Guinea from the west, and swung down to the west coast of Cape York Peninsula on or about March 1606, to the years 1838 and 1839, when John Clements Wickham and associates on the famous *Beagle* explored the inner geography of King Sound, Port Darwin, and of the estuary of the Victoria and Fitzmaurice Rivers, which had remained unexamined by Phillip Parker King.

Some of these voyages are presented briefly, others at greater length; for example, pages 99–178 reprint exactly Captain James Cook's discovery of almost all the eastern coast of Australia in 1770 as presented in his journal. The author quotes directly from *The Journals of Captain James Cook,* Volume I, edited by J. C. Beaglehole (1955), thus using Beaglehole's systematized punctuation and bracketed restoration of letters. Another long extract is from Matthew Flinders in the *Investigator,* who discovered the continental south coast from Nuyts Archipelago to Encounter Bay in 1802.

The chief value of the volume is the distillation of recent scholarship on the various voyages, including a summary of each scholar's position on controversial issues. Some important conclusions are: the touchy "Iave la Grande" question should be left as a problem still not wholly explained; the locations and disfigurements of cartographers' names that have occurred over the centuries, as they borrowed from map to map, are a problem; the various presentations cannot rob Prado and Torres of their discovering the separation of New Guinea and Australia; the importance of noting errors in the Dutch reporting of latitudes in the seventeenth century still remains; it is not clear whether Pieter Nuyts or François Thijssen was in effective command of the *Gulden Zeepaard* in 1627 or whether they should be regarded as codiscoverers; Abel Janszoon Tasman first sighted Tasmania near Macquarie Harbour on his first voyage, 1642–1643, and the author makes a good criticism of Tasman's second voyage in 1644.

Sharp follows the same design of the book he published in 1960 on the Pacific Islands. It is a handbook, rather than a conventional history; thus its usefulness is subject to limitations as a work of reference. To serve its purpose properly, this book should have had each section made as nearly definitive as possible, and this has not been achieved. Despite a useful bibliography, index, and footnotes at the bottom of each page, more identifications could have been made for each manuscript used.

University of California, Irvine SAMUEL CLYDE MCCULLOCH

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A HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA. By *Marjorie Barnard*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1963. Pp. 710. $11.50.)

In recent years three women—Margaret Kiddle, Marnie Bassett, and Marjorie Barnard—have greatly enriched Australian historiography. Miss Kiddle, the best scholar of the three, no longer is alive; Miss Barnard, the ablest writer of the group, has been the first to produce a general history of the Commonwealth. She has done so despite the fact that several good histories of Australia already exist. She has written a good, very useful account which by virtue of its size tells the Australian story far more fully than other more commonly used general statements by Sir W. Keith Hancock, A. G. L. Shaw, R. Max Crawford, and Douglas Pike. Barnard writes good narrative prose and avoids, on the whole, analysis, although she can provide solid, common-sense summaries (as on the convict tradition or the Federation movement) when she wishes. She focuses on the individual, on the colorful detail, and on the meaningful anecdote, but she does not neglect trade statistics or institutional history.

Her argument is not original, but she states it with clarity, a well-calculated density of detail, and with authority, especially when she writes on the subject she knows best, Macquarie's world (as one of her earlier titles attests). Only those readers who find her concluding sentence—"History is the study of man in all his activities and man is the product of his history"—original or profound will find the book original or profound, but the general reader (and librarians in search of a full but not "too scholarly" account) may well find here the best reasonably lengthy history of the continental nation. By stressing the role of accident in history, and by showing how the Australian has "the print of great distances on his eyelids and his mind," Barnard provides a welcome antidote to some of the dry selvages of labor-oriented Australian history.

Scholars, pedants, and those who merely cherish accuracy may not be entirely pleased, however. Minor mistakes abound—even "the fall of Pearl Harbour in 1942" with its nice triple error of date, spelling, and event is, after all, minor—and they annoy. Inconsistencies (on page 418 the Sydney *Bulletin* is correctly founded in 1880 but by page 690 the date has moved to 1888), minor typographical errors, far too many one-sentence paragraphs, and points that could have been checked and were not ("printed records of the [Federation] debates . . . may be . . . purchased (probably) from the Government Printers . . ." [almost certainly not]) strengthen annoyance. Finally, the bibliography leaves much to be desired. The "White Australia" policy, for example, is discussed in several places, but Myra Willard (1923) and E. Pottinger (1928) are the most recent authorities cited despite a recent outpouring of scholarly articles addressed to the subject. Nonetheless, it is refreshing to read a history of Australia that virtually ignores Frederick Jackson Turner.

Yale University Robin W. Winks

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AUSTRALIA IN THE WAR OF 1939–1945. Series One (Army). Volume VII, THE FINAL CAMPAIGNS. By *Gavin Long*. (Canberra: Australian War Memorial; distrib. by Angus and Robertson, Sydney. 1963. Pp. xx, 667. 35*s*.)

THE Australian official history of the Second World War, like the British, is written at the cabinet level (rather than at the separate service level, as in the United States) and is organized into various series covering not only ground, air, and sea operations, but civilian activities as well. The largest of these is the army series, consisting of seven volumes, four of which deal with the Japanese war. The present volume is the last of these and traces Australian operations in Bougainville, New Britain, New Guinea, and Borneo from the early spring of 1944 to the end of hostilities. The author, Gavin Long, is a former journalist, who, in addition to writing two other volumes in the army series, served from 1943 to 1963 as architect and general editor of the entire official history of the war.

The Final Campaigns is essentially a detailed history of military operations in the field and therefore of limited interest to any but the enthusiastic military professional or the participant. Even the student of military affairs and of World War II will find this meticulous account of operations that had little bearing on the final outcome far too detailed. Still, there are portions of the volume that are of more general interest and importance, especially to those who tend to view the war in the Southwest Pacific as a uniquely American effort and General MacArthur's conduct of that war as above reproach. The Australians clearly do not share these views and evidently still harbor resentment for the way they were treated.

The reasons for Australian resentment are made clear in *The Final Campaigns*. Mostly they revolve around two issues: strategy and command. So important is the latter that a special appendix is devoted to it in an attempt to prove that MacArthur organized his forces in such a way as deliberately to by-pass General Blamey's Allied Land Forces and to exclude Australians from important command and staff positions. To a large measure, this charge is justified.

The Australians are particularly bitter also about the much-publicized "leapfrog" strategy that supposedly left large Japanese forces to "wither on the vine," to be mopped up at leisure. These were the Japanese troops that the First Australian Army fought so bitterly in 1944 and 1945. There were 170,000 of them, and they were far from "withered"; in fact the Australians found them hardy and well fed, capable of strong and stubborn resistance. Australian resentment is further increased by their exclusion from the Philippines campaign and denial of the major role they felt they had earned in the closing operations against Japan. MacArthur's reasons for this exclusion on military grounds are hardly convincing, and one cannot but agree with the Australians that the Americans were guided in this case by political considerations and nationalist sentiment.

The American student will find this volume useful also for its detailed account of British plans for participation in the final defeat of Japan and the American response to these plans. This aspect of the war has not been treated in the US

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official histories of the war; thus we have yet to see the full story of the US position. But it is not without interest to note that while the Americans were doing their utmost to secure Soviet intervention in the war against Japan, they seemed to be doing their best to keep the British out. If this is correct, we still have much to learn about Allied relations during World War II.

Dartmouth College LOUIS MORTON

A HISTORY OF JAPAN, 1615–1867. By *George Sansom*. [Stanford Studies in the Civilizations of Eastern Asia.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 258. $7.50.)

THE third and concluding volume of what Sir George Sansom modestly announced at the outset as "a mere collection and arrangement of facts" on political and social developments in Japan up to the Meiji era is now at hand. As with the earlier volumes (*A History of Japan to 1334* [1958] and *1334–1615* [1961]), it is much more than that; the facts and names have been kept to the minimum necessary for the presentation of an over-all, coherent view of early modern Japan. Approximately half the length of the earlier volumes, Volume III limits itself to the Tokugawa period, whose first years had already been described at the close of Volume II.

The Tokugawa period presents severe problems for political history because there was proportionately so little of it; years of peace, the orderly processes of the shogunate, and the exclusion of foreigners mean that the historian is largely restricted to describing administrative and institutional developments. James Murdoch's third volume, which was completed after his death and appeared in 1926, met this problem by giving extremely full treatment to political manipulations at the close of the shogunate and extensive coverage to the several schools of thought; it even has an entire chapter on the forty-seven *rōnin*. Yet those 823 pages tell the reader of the 1960's less than will this far shorter account.

Sansom's problem was even greater than Murdoch's, for he has twice treated the Tokugawa Age in different contexts. The last hundred pages of his *Short Cultural History* (1931) and the second quarter of *The Western World and Japan* (1950) have long been standard accounts for cultural and intellectual currents, the latter directed toward the preparation for the opening of the country, and he has wisely refrained from any attempt to improve or repeat those treatments, whose deft summaries and characterizations thus remain the basic points of departure for students and specialists. This does change the nature of the present book. The Genroku era (1688–1703), which lent its name to a twenty-two-page chapter in 1931, now receives three pages limited to questions about the patronage and social basis of the cultural efflorescence described earlier. And since, on the other hand, economic, social, and political developments receive brief but skillful treatment in the *Short Cultural History*, it is still a very good place to begin, for few of its judgments have had to be withdrawn. In one respect the changing concerns and voluminous research of historians in Japan have required revision. The

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earlier picture of a largely undifferentiated village whose inhabitants eked out a miserable sustenance under harsh warrior rule has been replaced by a careful description of the dynamics of rural social and economic developments, already familiar to Western readers through the extensive study of Thomas C. Smith (*The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan* [1959]).

Readers familiar with Sansom's earlier volumes will not need to be told of the pleasure his calm judgments and felicitous phrases will bring. He provides a cryptic account, with illustrations as appropriate, which is aware but independent of current conventions and concerns in Japanese history. Everywhere he provides material for thought and research, and while foregoing "interpretation" he has many thoughtful comments on the nature of the rice-based economy. His discussions of family succession disputes, the relationship between Neo-Confucianism and the growing civil service, and the Shinto content of much of Tokugawa Confucian thought illustrate one of the constants in his approach to Japanese history: that the Japanese "borrowed and discarded as seemed fit to them, performing eclectic feats which bear witness to the toughness of their native tradition." And the work is full of balance and common sense. As the author earlier reminded us, through quotation from private diaries, that the pursuit of pleasure was only one side of the Heian aristocrat's life, he now corrects the impression, derived from the colorful literary record of the times, that the townsmen spent the better part of their attention and money in the licensed quarter. Again, his reminder of official peculation and the frequent confusion of public and private on the part of officials is appropriate at a time when writers are increasingly inclined to see the Tokugawa bureaucrats as "modern" in their probity and responsibility.

All students of Japanese history will welcome the completion of this history. Specialists will inevitably find points of difference, but none will doubt that these volumes, with the author's earlier works, provide the standard and point of departure for future work in Japanese history.

Princeton University MARIUS B. JANSEN

THOUGHT AND BEHAVIOUR IN MODERN JAPANESE POLITICS. By *Masao Maruyama.* Edited by *Ivan Morris.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xvii, 344. $6.75.)

MASAO Maruyama's reputation as one of Japan's most distinguished social scientists is owing, in large part, to his studies of political thought in the pre-Meiji period. But his articles on such current problems as nationalism and fascism —comparative studies based upon a remarkable familiarity with political thought and action in all parts of the world—are extremely thoughtful and provocative. Therefore this volume of nine articles, translated by eight Western scholars, may well be the most important book on modern Japan to appear in the English language.

Maruyama has helped us understand Japan's nationalism by erecting an analytical structure based on the following observation: although nationalism

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emerged in Europe in close association with the breakup of an ecclesiastical order and the rise of a democratic revolution, in Japan it developed in connection with pressures from Western powers and was nourished by a ruling group that resisted the spread of democratic ideals and processes. From this observation Maruyama extracts two conclusions. First, since Japan lacked historical experiences that would have made ultimate truth and goodness largely a matter of individual conscience, nationalist thought was shaped by the assumption that the locus of ultimate value was the emperor. Second, since nationalism in Japan was not associated with a democratic revolution, it was guided by traditionalist leaders who attempted to mobilize "irrational attachments" to Japan's "national polity" in order to unite and strengthen the nation. Around these conclusions the author develops other interrelated ones that support his statements about the future of nationalism in Japan: "First, it is quite obvious that national sentiment as it now stands can never become the mainstay of a new nationalism united with the democratic revolution. Only by destroying the tenacious family structure in Japanese society and its ideology, the very place where the old nationalism ferments, can Japan democratize society from the base up."

In his famous articles on fascism Maruyama builds a thesis stemming from the view that "Japan had not undergone the experience of a bourgeois revolution." In comparison to fascist movements in Italy and Germany, the one in Japan, he says, was from first to last a movement from above. Ideologically its uniqueness was associated with its "family-system tendency," its agrarianism, and its ideal of "the emancipation of the Asian peoples from European colonialism." Unlike those of Italy and Germany, the principal supporters of the movement were not the intellectuals, but the "sub-intellectuals": small factory owners, master carpenters, small landowners, independent farmers, schoolteachers (especially in primary schools), employees of village offices, low-grade officials, and Buddhist and Shinto priests. Seeing fascism as essentially a counteraction to the democratic revolution, Maruyama concludes that "In this sense the work of fascism is eternally 'unfinished'. . . ."

Other essays in this volume are on "Thought and Behaviour Patterns of Japan's Wartime Leaders," "A Critique of De-Stalinization," "Politics as a Science in Japan," "From Carnal Literature to Carnal Politics," and "Some Problems of Political Power." Each contains some views that Western readers may not be able to accept, but few will read the articles without being forced to give additional thought to some fundamental questions about political life in modern Japan.

University of California, Berkeley DELMER M. BROWN

Americas

PATHS OF AMERICAN THOUGHT. Edited by *Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.*, and *Morton White*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1963. Pp. viii, 614. $6.00.)

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ANY book containing twenty-nine essays by twenty-six authors has a right to waive the rule of historical presentation that demands continuity and symmetrical treatment of the subject on the title page. Yet the editors of *Paths of American Thought* more than half waive the waiver. They do say that the book is "selective" as well as "collective" and that they excluded poetry, music, painting, and "the details of scientific development" by prearrangement; they make no bow to architecture, the most social of the arts. They were governed, they explain, by a desire to treat matters "in the history of American thought that would be of interest to the historian of American social life as a whole." They conceived their task as being "to order and absorb the great amount of research in the history of American thought in the two generations since Parrington."

This sense of large historical commitment is enhanced by the textbook aspect of the work and by the over-all pattern of movement described in the prologue by Morton White. I believe that the history of public thought in America is best comprehended as having developed in long phases which are marked off by the people's descents into violence and their emergences from violence, and I was ingratiated at the start by White's promise that the coming chapters would display stages of greater and less "coherence and correspondence" in thought, which are periodized by America's wars: the Revolution, the Civil War, and the First World War. Now, though I think that White's phasing is historically correct, I doubt that the essays give much sustenance to that insight.

White says that during the colonial period a substantial coherency prevailed among intellectuals and that a valid correspondence existed between the actualities of society and thought about society. But Part I, "Before Independence," contains only one chapter, Edmund Morgan's "The American Revolution Considered as an Intellectual Movement." Morgan is deft here as always, yet because he gives more than half his space to Puritan backgrounds, the proposition about coherency loses force at the outset. There is no doubt that the five chapters in Part II, "From Independence to the Civil War," do illustrate White's conception that in that period both coherence and correspondence declined. But two chapters, Louis Hartz's Neo-Hegelian kind of discussion of "The Rise of the Democratic Idea" and Dwight L. Dumond's "The Controversy over Slavery," are too tendentious to reinforce the pattern. Unless thought about education—an important matter, any time, in respect of coherence and correspondence—was much less distinctly a "path" than Welter and others have persuasively said, this is the main one not plotted prior to 1870, where Hofstadter takes over with a discussion of higher education.

Thus the book gathers its own coherency in Parts III and IV, which occupy four-fifths of the book and divide at World War I. Here it grows on the reader that certain sequences of chapters are opening up vistas and that some chapters are rather vaguely connected. I think that the chapters on prose literature—"The Classic Literature" by Richard Chase, "The Realistic Novel" by Alfred Kazin, and "American Moderns" by Irving Howe—comprise the most developmental and

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successful sequence. The series on economic thought by Schlesinger, Samuelson, and Harris is freshest, supported by neighboring chapters on the study of society by Donald Fleming, Max Lerner, Edward Shils, and Daniel Bell; the lot is uneven, and the palms belong to Seymour Harris for explaining "The New Economics" in historical prose. I. Bernard Cohen's chapter on nineteenth-century science and W. W. Rostow's on the realist tradition in law are especially luminous and especially isolated. The book does not envisage Christian thought as a path; it does envisage such a topic as Protestant orthodoxy, which is treated in widely separated discussions by Morgan, by Donald Meyer on "The Dissolution of Calvinism," and by William Lee Miller on neo-orthodoxy. Although moral concern is frequently mentioned, moral sequences (say, concerning Negro amelioration) are no part of the book, and moral evaluation is rare. Dumond makes a conspicuous evaluation; equally conspicuously, McGeorge Bundy's timely discussion of thought concerning foreign policy makes none, though he mentions the nuclear arms race.

The book adds illumination to rooms and corridors of the house of American thought. Pots of paste and piles of scissors are still in sight, though, and no large renovation has occurred.

Johns Hopkins University CHARLES A. BARKER

THE AMERICAN WEST: AN APPRAISAL. PAPERS FROM THE DENVER CONFERENCE ON THE HISTORY OF WESTERN AMERICA. Edited by *Robert G. Ferris*. Introduction by *Ray A. Billington*. Preface by *James Taylor Forrest*. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 287. $5.50.)

THE youngest of our American organizations of professional historians is the Western History Association. Considering its age, it should barely be toddling, but actually it has already published two volumes of papers and is even now in the process of giving birth to a learned journal. Western history, which seemed for a time to be losing its appeal, has become lusty with new life. Americans may be overwhelmed by world problems, but they still retain interest in their own unique past.

The present volume consists of papers presented at the Denver conference of the Western History Association in October 1962. The subjects include the cowboy, exploration, industry, transportation, fur trade, Spanish influences, politics, Indians, historiography, and archaeology; almost anyone concerned with the West should find something to interest him. The authors are able and frequently well-known men who are presenting the fruits of their research. The writing is, in general, satisfactory, assuming that the reader remembers he is dealing with papers prepared for professional historians and not for television epics. Each of the articles has definite values, depending largely on the interests of the reader.

The larger point raised by the book, as well as by the Western History Associa-

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tion itself, is the scope of western history, both geographically and chronologically. Ray A. Billington, in the first essay of the book, follows the Turnerian point of view by favoring the history of the frontier rather than the history of the West as a region, which seems to him to emphasize the provincial and antiquarian. In contrast, however, every article in the book is concerned with the trans-Mississippi West, and Billington's own examples are limited to that area.

The other side of the problem is chronological. The Turner emphasis was on the movement of population to cheap or free land, and the Turner story ended when the newer areas were roughly similar to the older. The present book develops the story further, including the development of modern aviation. Possibly the argument for this expansion is that aviation or some other development is actually a new frontier, but the immediate impression is that the West is being considered as a region rather than as the scene of a frontier process. Very soon the Western History Association should consider seriously the geographic and chronological limits of its field.

Dartmouth College ROBERT E. RIEGEL

THE AMERICAN DRAWINGS OF JOHN WHITE 1577–1590 WITH DRAWINGS OF EUROPEAN AND ORIENTAL SUBJECTS. Volume I, A CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ AND A STUDY OF THE ARTIST; Volume II, PLATES IN COLOUR FACSIMILE AND MONOCHROME. By *Paul Hulton* and *David Beers Quinn*. With contributions by *W. C. Sturtevant et al.* Preface by *Edward Croft-Murray*. (London: Trustees of the British Museum; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Pp. xvii, 179; 160 plates. $225.00.)

My review in 1947 of Stefan Lorant's *The New World* was, as I said then, a "bleak desert of disparaging comment," relieved only by a single exception (*AHR,* LVIII [Oct. 1947], 111). That work, which received considerable public acclaim despite its glaring defects, appeared only ten years after the British Museum had announced its plans to publish the water colors of John White, the first drawings made by an Englishman in America. I therefore voiced the fear that Lorant's *New World* would make more difficult if not impossible the proper accomplishment of a task already formidable enough. The present volumes prove my criticism an understatement, my fears groundless. They are the product of an impressive array of scholarly talent and expert craftsmanship united in an effort to achieve the highest possible fidelity to the originals under the most exacting standards of editorial scholarship. In quality of performance this work takes rank at once with the 1590 edition of Theodor de Bry's *America,* which first brought White's drawings to the attention of the world and perpetuated their influence. No other attempt on the subject in the intervening centuries can be accorded such an honor. Thus these volumes stand as another example of the manner in which an important subject, hacked and mangled over the years, was finally confronted with a de-

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termined mobilization of all of the scholarly and other resources required for dealing with it in a manner suited to its importance. Two significant results flow from this refusal of scholars and institutions on both sides of the Atlantic to be intimidated by the great obstacles involved.

The first is that the drawings of White have now at last been published with perhaps as high a degree of fidelity to the originals as art, the circumstances, and the present state of printing techniques permit. The process employed was color printed collotypes brought to an approximate verisimilitude, upon which *pochoir* craftsmen applied water colors using artists' models made directly from the originals. Thus in effect the plates in these volumes are themselves water colors on a printed base, a fact that accounts both for the cost and for the limited edition of six hundred copies.

The second and more important accomplishment is a triumph of editorial scholarship. With this publication White assumes for the first time his proper stature in the history of English art, discovery, and scientific exploration. Drawing upon the contributions of experts in various fields—history, art, anthropology, zoology, botany, and cartography—the authors have placed this remarkable Elizabethan in proper perspective and in the context of his age.

While meeting fully their responsibility for assessing the whole achievement of John White, the authors have presented only the graphic part of his record. This is surprising. In his superbly edited *Roanoke Voyages,* Professor Quinn noted that Lorant's *New World* had incorporated the happy idea of presenting the pictures "with the associated texts in English." But this plan, the one element in Lorant's work deserving commendation, was not followed in the present volumes. The effect of this is to emphasize the drawings and their derivatives. However impeccably these are rendered, either as art or as documents, they are not the whole of the record left by White. For that, as the numerous quotations and references in the excellent *catalogue raisonné* amply demonstrate, the scholar must resort both to this work and to the texts printed elsewhere. To have included the total corpus of White's work would have added relatively little to the cost, would have made the two volumes about equal in size, and would have produced a more balanced and useful result.

Even so, these volumes form a landmark along the pathway of the Anglo-American heritage, and with both pride and gratitude one salutes the craftsmen, the scholars, and the institutions that have brought it into being.

Princeton University JULIAN P. BOYD

PRESBYTERIANS IN THE SOUTH. Volume I, 1607–1861. By *Ernest Trice Thompson.* (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press. 1963. Pp. 629. $9.75.)

MR. Thompson has written a comprehensive history of the southern Presbyterians that transcends any narrow sectarian point of view. Beginning with the introduction of the church in the colonial period, his volume follows the westward move-

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ment of the Presbyterians that resulted in church divisions and some modifications of the original Calvinist creed. He points out the serious handicaps of the church in competing with the Methodist and Baptist denominations for members in the frontier states, particularly because of its insistence upon an educated ministry and because of the unpopularity of its doctrine of predestination. This study, based on a wide variety of sources, has value for the American social and intellectual historian in that it contains illuminating information about the development of education, missions to Indians and Negroes, and the characteristic sins of the people during the colonial and ante bellum periods.

To me, the most original and significant contribution of the volume is its discussion of the struggle within the church to accommodate the institution of southern slavery to Christian doctrines. Thompson writes of this phase of the church's development from the point of view of a twentieth-century liberal. He enlivens his story of the militant church by sketches of prominent Presbyterian ministers, notably James Henley Thornwell, the great protagonist of the Old School and the defender of slavery, Gideon Blackburn, missionary to the Indians, and Daniel Baker, who led the advance of the church into Texas. This commendable history is not without some flaws: it contains far too many long quotations; its context of secular history, though useful for the general reader, is too elementary for the scholar; and it would gain strength by eliminating many details and the multiplicity of chapters. I detected very few errors in it.

University of Kentucky CLEMENT EATON

FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS. By *Paul A. Varg.* ([East Lansing:] Michigan State University Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 316. $6.50.)

IN this book Professor Varg attempts to clarify further the foreign policies of the early national government by treating the period 1776 to 1812 as a unit and by using nationalism as a unifying theme. Another major theme that he believes gives this period special unity is the close relationship between domestic and foreign affairs, essentially, their interaction. In the new nation, he asserts, "domestic affairs had a greater than customary influence on the shaping of foreign policy." While this observation, as the author himself suggests, is neither new nor unusual, it does emphasize an important aspect of our early national history that deserves the intensive investigation he has given it.

Even though some topics are investigated in depth, this book is broad in scope and coverage. It is basically a series of connected interpretive essays on important issues of foreign policy and related political issues of the period arranged in chronological sequence. The topics covered are the usual ones, such as foreign affairs during the Revolution and under the Articles of Confederation, the political battles over the Jay Treaty, the embargo of 1807, and the causes of the War of 1812. What is different, and what gives this work its depth, is the analysis of the economic and ideological factors in foreign policy, the concern for the con-

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flict between moralism and realism in American thought about foreign policy, and the analysis of the origins of national political parties in terms of conflict over foreign policy. Fundamentally, the author sees the Federalists as realists and the Jeffersonians as moralists, though his reasoning is more qualified and sophisticated than this simple statement suggests.

Not everyone will agree with Varg's generalizations, but he shows commendable courage in advancing broad interpretations and seeking to bring order, unity, and new meaning to his data. Most of his generalizations, moreover, are intelligent, many are perceptive, and others are provocative. He maintains, for example, that the conspicuous failure of the Confederation government "was in meeting challenges from abroad," that the change from Federalism to Jeffersonianism introduced the moralistic approach to American foreign policy and thus gave that policy a unique quality, and that in considerable part the conflict with Britain that led to war in 1812 lay in the nationalistic and idealistic attitudes of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison.

Although this study covers material previously exploited, it is the only one to treat the foreign policy of the first thirty-six years of our national history as an integrated whole. Its scholarship is sound, based on a variety of printed sources and some manuscript collections. Its value lies not in the presentation of previously undisclosed data, or even in the offering of new interpretations, but in its synthesis of interpretations. It explains thought and motivation in the making of policy, shows how internal issues influenced foreign policy, and analyzes how foreign affairs helped create divisions in domestic politics. All this is tied to the larger theme of nationalism which, incidentally, merits more analysis as a concept than the author has given it.

This is a carefully organized and thoughtful book, and it is pleasant to read.

University of California, Santa Barbara ALEXANDER DECONDE

THE PAPERS OF HENRY CLAY. Volume III, PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, 1821–1824. Edited by *James F. Hopkins. Mary W. M. Hargreaves,* Associate Editor. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 933. $15.00.)

IN the 1820's presidential candidates were nominated by their "friends," and campaigns were conducted on a personal level with the candidate himself generally directing the canvass. Henry Clay's first bid for the highest office followed this pattern, beginning late in 1821, slowly gaining momentum through the following year, and hitting full stride about the middle of 1823. The political letters and documents that make up a substantial portion of this third volume of *The Papers of Henry Clay* reveal both insight and naïveté. Clay's estimates of Adams, Crawford, Calhoun, Lowndes, and Clinton were basically sound, but neither he nor his partisans took Jackson seriously until the election was less than a year away. By that time Clay realized that his own single hope of victory lay in the

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House of Representatives. Deals and rumors of deals among his rivals were faithfully reported and evaluated, and as Clay's prospects faded, alliances were seriously discussed in his own camp. Toward the end he would have accepted the vice-presidency, but only Crawford made the offer, and Clay correctly judged the Georgian to be a loser.

A voluntary exile from Congress in 1821–1823, Clay concentrated on his legal practice and on mending his political fences, two aims that were often made to serve each other. He remained the able and dedicated spokesman for business, in the courts as before the state and national legislatures, and the Bank of the United States, which he represented in Kentucky and Ohio, continued to be his most important single client. It is notable, however, that his extensive and increasingly cordial correspondence with Nicholas Biddle is without the political overtones that crept into his exchanges with Langdon Cheves, Biddle's predecessor as president of the bank.

When he returned to the House in December 1823, Clay was easily re-elected Speaker, a most desirable post from the point of view of his presidential campaign since he was prominently on display, but need not take sides on controversial issues. He spoke in favor of a protective tariff and internal improvements, measures he had long since made his own, but otherwise took little part in debate.

Again Professor Hopkins and Mrs. Hargreaves have given us a well-edited, beautifully printed book that stands with its predecessors as indispensable to the history of the period it covers.

Washington, D. C. CHARLES M. WILTSE

JOHN GORHAM PALFREY AND THE NEW ENGLAND CONSCIENCE. By *Frank Otto Gatell.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 337. $6.95.)

JOHN Gorham Palfrey modestly wrote that his *History of New England* would "never be much read," but would "help to keep future students and writers fairly informed and on the right track." He looked with pride and "satisfaction" on his massive work, a part of which remained unfinished at the time of his death. In Frank Otto Gatell's study, an authoritative biography that has long been needed, Palfrey emerges as a recognizable figure who became a celebrated New Englander of the nineteenth century. Palfrey the historian, now labeled as a filiopietist, an apologist for the Puritans, was not a man to be intimidated or bemused in undertaking a history of the Bay Colony and its neighbors. Although Gatell approvingly quotes Henry Adams' judgment of Palfrey's *History,* "an Apologia in the Greek sense; a justification of the ways of God to Man, or what was much the same thing, of Puritans to other men," he does acknowledge that the *History* was "a commendable contribution to a fledgling discipline, a model of intensive and honest research in the available primary sources."

"Good Old Doctor Palfrey" devoted a large portion of his eighty-five years

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(1796–1881) to writing history. This well-documented and skillfully written book tells the interesting story of Palfrey's successes and disappointments in other careers: Unitarian minister, dean of Harvard's Divinity School, and editor of the *North American Review*. From this point the book devotes considerable space to Palfrey's remarkable sojourn into politics. As a representative in the Massachusetts General Court and later as secretary to the state of Massachusetts, Palfrey made his start in one more career. While he was secretary, Palfrey took an interest in putting state records in order and in adding supplementary historical transcripts from France and England. Known in local politics as an abolitionist who freed slaves he had inherited, Palfrey was elected to Congress as a Whig in 1847. But Palfrey's stay in Washington was brief because the former clergyman found it difficult to adjust to the political transformations and compromises of the 1850's. When he lost the opportunity to return to Congress, Palfrey turned to historical research in London where he was impressed with the "amplitude of the materials" at the Public Record Office. Palfrey was fortunate in being able to continue work on his *History* after receiving the appointment of postmaster of Boston, an office obtained through the intercession of an old political associate, Senator Charles Sumner. Never of independent means, Palfrey is portrayed in this excellent book as a self-made man whose graduation from Harvard had been made a reality through pledges offered by kindly benefactors.

In his final appraisal of Palfrey's failures and attainments, the author stresses the *History of New England*. The last ten pages of the book have an analysis of the cycles and themes of the *History*. Indeed, this valuable section might have been expanded, for it deals with Palfrey's greatest accomplishment, his *History*, which deserves a more detailed evaluation.

University of California, Santa Barbara WILBUR R. JACOBS

FROM PRAIRIE TO CORN BELT: FARMING ON THE ILLINOIS AND IOWA PRAIRIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Allan G. Bogue*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1963. Pp. 310. $6.95.)

THE geographical and agricultural heart of the North American heartland is the central corn belt or the "prairie peninsula." The great story of this land and its farmers coming to terms with one another is told altogether and in detail for the first time by Professor Bogue. Related systematically and written with considerable grace, the book traces the agricultural occupation and development of Illinois and Iowa from about 1830 to the end of the century. That period was the farm-making era for these prime corn belt states. The peculiarities of the land, including soils, climate, vegetation, and tilt, influenced but did not determine what the farmers did to the land and what they made from it. Those who occupied the land, how they acquired title, the many problems of developing farms, and how they were made productive are the major themes of the book.

The book reveals prodigious research in the available sources bearing upon the

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history of the corn belt. Based principally upon census records, contemporary farm diaries, and local press, but not overlooking previous work by historians, the book examines the farms, the farmers, their crops and livestock, tools, credit, labor, and taxes. Combining breadth and detail, a nice balance is maintained between statistical compilations and illustrative examples of specific farms and farmers.

Bogue re-examined many things and corrected the accepted conclusions about some of them, but he is cautious about making sweeping generalizations. He found that there was neither a uniform type of frontier agriculture dependent upon wheat nor a uniform type of pioneer farmer. The evolution of a corn-hog pattern was not so insistent and exclusive as it was once thought, farmers being endlessly variable. And an unrelieved picture of chronic agricultural depression during the post-Civil War generation is corrected by studying capital accumulation through increased productivity.

The limits of the work are the boundaries of the farms as productive enterprises. The book is encyclopedic in treating such aspects of farming as rotation, breeding, fencing, drainage, and technological innovations. Very little is included about those other sides of agriculture (distribution of products, price making in the domestic and foreign markets, rural society, and agricultural politics and policy) which are essential to the whole story of an agricultural region. Bogue's work on farming in Illinois and Iowa in the nineteenth century can be used as a model for important and exciting studies that need to be done in other aspects of corn belt history. Other times and other places also require similar devoted attention.

University of California, Davis JAMES H. SHIDELER

AMERICA ENCOUNTERS JAPAN: FROM PERRY TO MACARTHUR. By *William L. Neumann*. [The Goucher College Series.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 353. $6.50.)

THIS modest-sized volume is a survey—and much more—of American relations with Japan during the past century. It sets forth the well-known details: the opening of Japan, the quick adaptation of Japanese institutions to Western models, the turn of the century military successes, Japan's somewhat "grabby" participation in the First World War, peacefulness in the 1920's, the effort in the 1930's and early 1940's to put the eight corners of the universe under one roof, and the reign of General MacArthur. Even so, the book tells more than this familiar story. It considers in detail the nonpolitical factors in Japanese-American relations: commerce, Christianity, the flow of ideas. It also looks beyond Japan to general Far Eastern problems, to China, and to the actions of other nations in the area. The author has no controversial thesis. He seeks to show that American statesmen of past generations sought constantly to work in the Far East outside the limits of their country's national power, and that the attack on Pearl Harbor demonstrated the essential foolishness of such policy. For decades American diplomats

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managed to get along with pronouncements, but their luck eventually turned.

In his last pages Neumann states what he thinks is the best policy for the United States in Asia, a policy on which he quotes Dean Acheson in the year 1950: "we are interested in the people of Asia . . . we do not want to use them . . . we want to help them in any sensible way we can to achieve their own goals and ambitions in their own way." Admittedly this was a comedown from the heady notions of the past. It was, again, recognition that, as Neumann remarks, our national power does not permit endless cloth for infinite coats.

The author has made a few factual slips here and there, as well he might, considering the size of his subject and the spaciousness of his approach to it. One might note that he fails to analyze, or even mention, the Root-Takahira Agreement. It will be difficult for a reviewer to find serious flaws in this truly admirable account. There is a judiciousness about the generalizations that betokens intimate reading and understanding of manifold secondary works. The fine bibliographical essay of nearly thirty pages is a model of its kind. The prose sparkles. All in all this is a first-class account that should pass quickly into a paperback edition.

Indiana University ROBERT H. FERRELL

MATTHEW FONTAINE MAURY: SCIENTIST OF THE SEA. By *Frances Leigh Williams*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1963. Pp. xx, 720. $10.00.)

THE first of the several more or less serious biographies of Maury was by a doting daughter; so, in effect, are the others. It is curious that his career has received so little critical examination, for few American reputations have stood so low in the judgment of informed contemporaries while standing so high in popular estimate. A variety of explanations suggest themselves. Only half-educated, Maury escaped the poverty of Virginia farm life by running away to sea. Crippled in an accident, he turned to science, and, triumphing over superiors in the navy who did not appreciate science and over scientists who did not appreciate utility, he became the "Pathfinder of the Seas." When the Civil War came, he gave his loyalty to Virginia. Early poverty, persecution by the mighty, cannon balls, and honeysuckle —there can be no surer formula in America for contemporary and posthumous popularity. He commanded a style of writing that at its best is very good indeed and that helped to make his *Physical Geography of the Sea* a best seller in the field of oceanography. (At its worst, his style is a litter of scriptural and other quotation.) Finally, everyone knows that his contributions to science were of immense practical benefit, for he made the oceans both safer and more profitable.

Miss Williams adequately explains the shabby treatment accorded Maury by the navy: naval officers of the day were traditionally on guard against outcroppings of intellect. She does not adequately explain why Maury was pursued as well and with implacable hostility (their correspondence is full of sly references and cryptic

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allusions to schemes for ambush and assault) by the major figures of American science. Here lies the central failure of the book, for the explanation of their hostility would reveal an issue of critical importance to Maury's career and would help to bring the man to life. It would also reveal one of the central issues in the history of science in America.

Joseph Henry, A. D. Bache, and others among Maury's critics were the leaders of the first generation of scientists born in the republic. Forever conscious of their importance to the future of science in America, they fully grasped Tocqueville's insight that "A desire to utilize knowledge is one thing; the pure desire to know is another." And they realized, with Tocqueville, that it was the tendency in an equalitarian society for the former desire to eliminate the latter. They strove to counteract the tendency by creating a climate of opinion in government, in the scientific community, and in the public mind that would encourage the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. Maury's career and reputation embodied all that they deplored. They would have been unhappy enough had Maury stuck to his charts, but he would not. He took to offering ill-advised theories that were leaps into the dark. It was one thing, by tracking a great many sailing voyages, to show *how* the winds blew and currents flowed. It was quite another to attempt to explain *why*.

The great importance of Maury's contributions should be recognized, but it does him a disservice to regard him as a neglected genius. He was no genius, and he certainly was not neglected. His career was tragic because it was his misfortune to be a naval officer with intellectual aspirations and a scientist with an officer's mind.

This large and handsome book is obviously a major effort on the part of both author and publisher. The research that has gone into it (notes and bibliography total 219 pages) makes it very useful, and whoever is interested in Maury (or the state of American science or the navy during his lifetime) must read it. The quality of the writing leaves something to be desired (Must the eyes of Virginia girls forever flash and their proud heads toss?), but the well-documented turbulence of Maury's career carries the reader along.

University of Pittsburgh WILLIAM STANTON

WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE AND THE MODERN LIBRARY MOVEMENT. By *William Landram Williamson*. [Columbia University Studies in Library Service, Number 13.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 203. $6.00.)

IT is impossible to separate the career of William Frederick Poole from the development of public and research libraries as we know them today. Dr. Williamson, Butler Librarian at Columbia University, has made a significant contribution, based on sound research in the pertinent sources, in this well-written biography.

Poole's professional career spanned the years from 1851 to 1894. He was librarian of the Mercantile Library Association of Boston, of the Boston Athenæum

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from 1856 to 1868, and of the Cincinnati Public Library, an institution he made one of the most distinguished in the country. He served as Chicago's first public librarian and laid the foundation for the later distinction of that city's library. He capped his career as first librarian of the Newberry Library. While never conspicuously successful as an administrator, Poole had an almost missionary zeal for the role of the library in American life and high ideals of service to the scholarly community. He was active in the organization and development of the American Library Association (and, with a prescience rare at the time, saw some of Melville Dewey's major weaknesses), became America's first library consultant, and was both a productive member and President of the American Historical Association.

Poole, the scholar-librarian, is, of course, best remembered for his contribution to bibliography. Even while a student at Yale and librarian of the Brothers in Unity, a literary society, he was engaged in indexing periodicals. Poole's published index to periodicals, brought out first in 1848 by Putnam with subsequent editions by other publishers, was the forerunner, and in a sense the model, for the H. W. Wilson Company's later work.

Williamson's study, which fortunately is concerned only with his subject's professional career, presents Poole's ideas and practices on classification, on administration, on library architecture (he was no friend to the pompous monument so beloved by his contemporaries), and on the responsibility of the librarian as a builder of collections. Poole's literary and historical interests are equally stressed, but the author does not write a complete social history of Poole's times; nor should he have. He has written good history and good biography with grace and competence.

University of Kansas W. Stuart Forth

THE URBANIZATION OF AMERICA [1860–1915]. By *Blake McKelvey*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 370. $10.00.)

Urbanization has always given focus and form to activity in the hinterlands. Whereas "frontier" development merely repeated itself with minor adaptations across the continent, the city's unfolding imparted a dynamism and shape to the whole of society. So rapid was the concentration of people in cities after 1820 that from the 1860's, as Blake McKelvey has it, "urban population gains exceeded rural gains in size, as they had for several decades in per cent." This absolute predominance of urbanization—in which, *mirabile dictu,* only three European nations had precedence over the United States—provides the starting point for McKelvey's examination of the character of city growth and its relation to "other phases of American history during the period."

Part I is devoted to "the rise of the city," 1860–1910. McKelvey concludes that urbanization was mainly the result of industrial advances and improved transporta-

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tion which combined to attract unprecedented numbers of people. Detailed accounts follow of "building and governing the cities," the evolution of "urban institutions and social tensions," and of "forging an urban culture." Here the author presents a *montage* of seemingly everything that went on in cities, the many apt illustrations culled from his unrivaled knowledge of the American city scene. Indeed, the book is virtually a work of reference; its closely printed bibliography alone extends to nearly twenty-five pages. The final part deals with the emergence of a "new ecological dualism" over the years 1910–1915, a polarization of the "metropolitan region" between city and suburbs, which "began to supplant the earlier dichotomies between the East and West, the native and the immigrant, the rural and the urban." Unfortunately McKelvey does not develop this interesting conclusion with materials or analyses that differ markedly from those used before 1910.

Both the theme and period of the volume invite a comparison with A. M. Schlesinger's *Rise of the City, 1878–1898,* the work that three decades ago broke ground for a general field of urban history. McKelvey's book covers a time span twice that of the earlier study and draws upon a greatly expanded literature. But for all the longer perspective and larger sample, little has been added to our understanding of urbanization or its relation to other phases of history. No distinction is yet made between city growth and urbanization, no recognition that the former is the result of the latter (conceived as a social process of population concentration). In Part I city growth is represented as the result of industrialization as if economic change underlies or "causes" all other change. There is no awareness that social behavior has economic implications, that urbanization, for example, affects the character of economic change. On the other hand, many of the effects of urbanization that the author does discuss in later parts of the book might equally well be treated as concomitants of industrialization, immigration, secularization, or other tendency of the time. When urbanization is identified with everything, it can explain nothing; it ceases to be an independent source of variation. This kind of confusion is not peculiar to the book, of course, but to the field. The roads through Norristown and Trempealeau County indicate the direction where clarity lies.

Given the state of the art, however, this volume is practically definitive. Specialists will disagree with occasional emphases and representations of fact; more attention might have been given to public finance, and neglect of the legal integument could be held a serious deficiency. If excessive space is given the staple "problems," the author is too much of an urbanist not to stress compensatory opportunities for personal development and social improvement. His style is compact, his disposition sanguine, his strictures on all things mild. His volume (like Asa Briggs's *Victorian Cities*) goes far to refute Lewis Mumford's frenetic view of the "insensate" industrial city.

University of Wisconsin ERIC E. LAMPARD

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SUCCESS STORY: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF S. S. McCLURE. By *Peter Lyon.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1963. Pp. viii, 433. $7.50.)

A BIOGRAPHY must be more than a life traced chronologically; the biographer should draw conclusions, synthesize, and explain, however tentative the result. Though steeped in the hitherto untapped McClure Papers, Peter Lyon, a professional writer and grandson of the famous editor, has been too cautious, for what emerges from the book is the same blurred image with which we are already familiar on the basis of mostly superficial secondary materials. From the evidence Lyon presents, McClure would make an excellent subject for psychological if not psychoanalytical analysis, with his tendency to run away from responsibility, his complusive need to get what he wanted, his unusually strong desire to be liked and appreciated, his dependence upon various women, his prudery that somehow permitted adultery, his agonizingly long life, and other characteristics.

McClure outlived his personal "success story" by some thirty years. Reading between the lines, one finds the apparent key to the editor's success, whether it lay in winning a wife from her bitterly opposed parents, in establishing a newspaper syndicate in the face of much substantial criticism, or in founding a magazine at the start of a great business depression, in his self-confidence. Able to convey his enthusiasms so that they became irresistible, he got what he wanted whether it was money or talent. When reverses and disappointments undermined this confidence, the "genius" soon became the eccentric. What more tragic comment could be made than Lyon's as he crams S. S. McClure's last thirty-one years into twenty-six pages!

Lyon, recognizing the historical importance of the editor's life, devotes over one-half of the book to the golden years of *McClure's Magazine,* 1893–1912. Though the volume includes few source notes and only a limited bibliography, it is based upon substantial research, and with the exception of too many strained similes, the style is readable and at times even sprightly. The author lays to rest certain distortions that have plagued the accounts of muckraking—the most significant of which is the contention that muckraking was discovered accidentally at *McClure's.* Muckraking is seen as the result of a conscious attempt of the editor to tap new areas of growing public interest and concern.

Upon inspection, however, Lyon's treatment of the magazine is as incomplete as is his portrait of McClure. Too much space is wasted in summarizing the content of some leading articles, without questioning their accuracy and without mentioning the one libel suit prosecuted successfully against the journal in 1908. At times the author shows how McClure actually shaped an editorial result, but more often the editor's influence is asserted rather than demonstrated. The reader receives little understanding of McClure's precise contribution to the success of the magazine. Memoirs of those connected with the early *McClure's* pay tribute to John S. Phillips as a guiding force behind the journal. Lyon notes the contention

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but does not evaluate it. Remaining are the questions of how the magazine functioned, what made it successful, and to whom did it appeal and why.

University of North Carolina JOHN E. SEMONCHE

THE WHIRLIGIG OF POLITICS: THE DEMOCRACY OF CLEVELAND AND BRYAN. By *J. Rogers Hollingsworth*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 263. $5.00.)

The Whirligig of Politics is a brief story of American political fortunes in the tortured attempt to adjust to radically changing conditions and thoughts in the years 1893–1904. Actually the subtitle *The Democracy of Cleveland and Bryan* is, except for "image" creation in the world of books, a much more revealing description than the major title. The purposes of the volume, says the author, are, first, to show to what extent the Democratic party not only reflected the divisive forces in the nation but also how those same forces, mollified or intensified by contending leaders, were revealed in the party itself during those years, and, second, to demonstrate the part of the Democrats in shaping national policy.

Professor Hollingsworth has, better than anyone else, succeeded in giving some unity to the story of the political confusion that marked the clash between the host of conflicting ideas that either insisted on a hearing or fought for survival as agrarianism was submerged by urbanism while the nineteenth century blended into the twentieth. That unity, as one would expect, was achieved in part either by bold assertion or by lopping off what did not fit. The period was one not only of survival but also of many beginnings and many endings. Unity in either party was an impossibility; it could be only more obvious in one than in the other at any given time. Deep human forces were involved, and, regardless of town or country, basic opinions were under revision.

The heart of the book is the ceaseless conflict in the Democracy between 1893 and 1904; the central thesis is that the leaders of the party were incapable of logical and sensible adjustments. It may be, at least in the beginning, that the difficulty was that questions that had long been brewing could no longer be ignored. It may be too that it was impossible at the time for opposing leaders to yield in part without yielding all. Occasionally in human history periods seem to appear in which the most cherished ideas must be defended, seemingly without compromise, yet in that defense they disappear as new and no less unyielding ideas emerge. Perhaps there was not enough experience in the nation to shape men's thinking to do the things that needed to be done. The disturbances came among Democratic followers because they alone faced the problems; as soon as the old order in the Republican party wavered, it, too, suffered the disruptions that had fallen on the Democrats.

The Whirligig of Politics will not escape criticism. That cannot be expected even by the most cautious writers on the period, and Hollingsworth is not notably

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cautious. Both his details and his basic premises are sometimes open to question. The book, however, is a good one. It is well written, it weaves a complex and confused series of events into an understandable whole, but it is regrettable that so many errors were permitted to remain uncorrected.

Temple University JAMES A. BARNES

GEORGE W. NORRIS: THE MAKING OF A PROGRESSIVE, 1861–1912. By *Richard Lowitt.* (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 341. $7.95.)

THIS is the first of a projected two-volume biography of George W. Norris, who represented Nebraska in the Congress continuously from 1903 to 1943—five terms in the House of Representatives and five in the Senate—and who, as Lowitt rightfully concludes, was "one of the outstanding legislators in American history."

In this volume, Lowitt carries Norris' story through his first election to the Senate in 1912. Relying heavily upon the Norris papers in the Library of Congress and other primary sources, he has presented a detailed study of his subject's boyhood in Ohio, his years as a young lawyer on the rapidly developing frontier of western Nebraska, his service as a district judge, and his five terms as representative from Nebraska's Fifth District. He concludes with an examination of Norris' increasing identification with progressivism, his role in the struggle between Robert M. La Follette and Theodore Roosevelt for leadership of the progressive cause, and finally his successful campaign for the Senate in the politically complicated Nebraska of 1912.

Lowitt exhibits a profound understanding of Nebraska's politics during the Populist-early progressive period, and he also shows that he understands the local as well as the national focus of a congressman's career. He supports his subtitle, *The Making of a Progressive,* primarily through description rather than through analysis. He describes in faithful detail the process by which Norris "gradually moved from a conservative Republican politician to a prominent progressive leader," but he does not give a particularly satisfactory explanation of why the transformation took place. Norris himself must share part, perhaps a major part, of the blame for this shortcoming. He was an indefatigable worker, a consummately skillful politician, and an outstanding parliamentarian, but as his autobiography, *Fighting Liberal,* demonstrates, and as Lowitt suggests, "He was not an intellectual. He was not given to philosophizing about political theory or the role of government." Lowitt, according to his preface, determined that if he were to write "a biography that will do justice to the man," he should try "to write concretely, to pay attention to significant details, to record observations, and to avoid excessive generalizing." He has done all this, and with a considerable degree of success. One would hope, however, that he will permit himself more generalization in the second volume.

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Lowitt has reserved the most significant part of Norris' career for his second volume. Indeed, one wonders if he has not reserved too much. It was as a senator that Norris exercised his great influence upon American legislative history. Aside from his fight on Cannonism, which Lowitt treats in a highly satisfactory manner, his career in the House was important primarily in a prefatory sense. This can be said with even greater force about other aspects of his presenatorial years. Whether Lowitt was justified in devoting what presumably will be half of his total space to a detailed, essentially descriptive treatment of Norris' life prior to his election to the Senate is a question whose answer will have to await a reading of the second volume. All who are concerned with the twentieth-century political history of the United States will look forward with great interest to its publication.

University of Nebraska JAMES C. OLSON

THE MAN BILBO. By *A. Wigfall Green*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 150. $5.00.)

THEODORE Gilmore Bilbo, "The Man" as he delighted to call himself, was born into a middle-class, farm family in Juniper Grove, Mississippi, in 1877 and died in 1947. He attended George Peabody College for Teachers and the Vanderbilt School of Law, taught school for a time, then entered politics and was successively elected to the state Senate, lieutenant governor and governor twice, and to the United States Senate three times, but was denied his seat in 1947 on charges of fraud and corruption. Heretofore there has been no biography of "The Man," but numerous essays and sketches have been published that enable most students of recent southern and national history to identify Bilbo as one of the breed known as "Dixie Demagogues."

The author of the present biography, a professor of English at the University of Mississippi, set himself the task of wading through the mass of myths and legends and the multitudinous contradictions that have grown up around Bilbo in order to evaluate his role in state and national politics and to explain the elusive quality of the man's character. In doing so he has recounted the familiar story of Bilbo's controversial administrations as governor, his work in the United States Senate, and finally his emergence as a bitter opponent of liberal, progressive measures and the leader of the white supremacists. The result is a well-written, colorful, and interesting story. The book is well balanced. On the one hand the author gives Bilbo generous credit for significant reforms in state government, including among others public education, tax reorganization and equalization, good roads, abolition of the fee system, and care of the insane, and of effective support for most of the New Deal legislation on the national level. On the other hand he places on Bilbo the responsibility for bribery and corruption, interference with the state university, embezzlement of Rosenwald funds for Negro education, and of accepting gifts and aid from public contractors in building his dream house and

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swimming pool, and for the misuse of the salary of his office staff in Washington.

I get the impression that the author is sympathetic with Bilbo, but is unwilling to make positive judgments. He seems to explain away Bilbo's good works and to excuse his evil deeds. For instance he finds it "easy, too easy—to agree with the multitude that he [Bilbo] was guilty" of embezzlement, but his acceptance of gifts as governor was "a mere gubernatorial fringe benefit, an old Southern custom." Again he says that on the national scene Bilbo's "greatest mishap was in taking up the cause of racism. . . . Yet he personally liked the Negro" and showed no discrimination on race in exercising the pardoning power. Over-all Bilbo fares well in the author's estimation. According to Green, Bilbo's inaugural address "indicated profound knowledge of state government and a sociological goal much in advance of his age," and even in the United States Senate "there were times when, through prevision and imagination, he [Bilbo] reached a national eminence superior to that of his colleagues." Furthermore, the gifts of "The Man" overshadowed much that was twisted and unsavory. The author offers as a possible explanation of the contrasts and weakness of Bilbo's character the idea that he was lonely and unsure of himself and secretly knew that he was not prepared for the positions he held.

Unfortunately two major collections of Bilbo's papers were not available to Green. Had they been opened his biography might have been more revealing and definitive. The author made little use of official sources, but chose to rely largely upon two newspapers, the Jackson *Clarion-Ledger* and the Jackson *Daily News,* the one favorable to Bilbo, the other edited by his bitter enemy. And he seems to have taken their partisan reports and views at face value.

University of North Carolina FLETCHER M. GREEN

HERBERT H. LEHMAN AND HIS ERA. By *Allan Nevins.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1963. Pp. 456. $7.50.)

As Professor Nevins makes abundantly clear, Herbert H. Lehman was a man very easy to admire and respect. Although he was scarcely brilliant, original, or compelling, most of his career was spent in devoted service to social problems, humanitarian causes, and reform. Before severing his relations with the family's influential banking firm he became heavily involved with Jewish charities and with labor disputes, activities that brought him the friendship of Lillian Wald, Morris Hillquit, and David Dubinsky. An eager supporter of Woodrow Wilson in 1912, he became an early follower of Franklin Roosevelt. During the twenties he contributed his energies and money liberally to the career of Al Smith and was chairman of the Democratic National Finance Committee in 1928, when he was also elected lieutenant governor of New York in the canvass that made Roosevelt governor. In 1933 he started his four terms as governor of the state, retiring voluntarily in 1942 to become director of the United States Office of Foreign Relief and subsequently of UNRRA, the United Nations' postwar relief agency, which

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shipped a total of over nine million tons of food together with mountainous quantities of clothing and medical and industrial supplies to all the devastated corners of the world. Subsequently, as a member of the Senate, virtually unaided he launched a campaign against Senator Joseph McCarthy. Retiring from the Senate in 1956, he spent his last years as he had his youth, battling Tammany and contributing his money and waning strength to local charities and civic betterment projects.

Four-fifths of this volume is devoted to Lehman's public career. It is in these pages, particularly those devoted to the New York governorship, that the author contributes most to our understanding of the recent historical process. For although the New York administrations of both Al Smith and Franklin Roosevelt have been the subject of scholarly works, Lehman's longer term of years has hitherto been neglected. The first chapter, however, contains one of the most charming short accounts in print of life in the small-town ante bellum South. The rest of the volume is characterized by the graceful and vigorous prose that we have come to expect of the author.

Though Nevins had access to that part of the Lehman Papers deposited in the New York Public Library and to the memoir in the Columbia Oral History Project, the volume is strikingly sparse in direct quotations from the subject's own letters. In the four chapters spent upon the governorship, just seven citations to Lehman's letters appear in the footnotes, although more use is made of the oral history material, and of direct conversations with Lehman. The relative lack of manuscript material and a heavy reliance on public sources are perhaps responsible for the laudatory tones of the book and possibly for its silence about some interesting questions. For there is a seeming paradox in Lehman's career. During the twenties while he was so vigorously supporting the reform elements in local and national politics, he was also a senior partner in the family banking firm. As such Lehman should have had an intimate knowledge of New York investment banking practices, practices that the Pecora Committee later felt were in many instances devoid of all sense of social responsibility and that, according to the committee, contributed significantly to the economic debacle following 1929. One can wonder about Lehman's opinions on the ethics of the investment fraternity and on his striking silence about them without imputing any wrongdoing to the staunch and conservative firm of Lehman Brothers. One would also like to know more about Governor Lehman's relations with Tammany after his nomination and election, and about his part in Roosevelt's long-delayed investigation of Jimmy Walker before the election of 1932.

The author of this volume, who has contributed so much to the historical profession, has recently remarked that he doubted whether most published biography could properly be considered history. Biography's emphasis upon the individual in a world increasingly dominated by collective forces, the special pleading it seems to engender, and its usual inadequate grounding upon conflicting sources, all, he has argued, skew the past almost out of recognition. If

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such a statement can be made about work on the figures of the past, the hazards of writing biography as history about living ones are obviously compounded. This volume appeared shortly before Senator Lehman's recent death. But history or not, one can be glad this volume was written while its subject was yet alive and able to appreciate a testimonial to a really good human being.

University of California, Los Angeles GEORGE E. MOWRY

THE QUEST FOR THE DREAM: THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND HUMAN RELATIONS IN MODERN AMERICA. By *John P. Roche.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1963. Pp. xii, 308. $5.95.)

IN the closing pages of this compact volume, the author, John P. Roche of Brandeis University, notes that he had not essayed "a comprehensive analysis of civil liberties in the twentieth century." Instead he hoped "to provide some perspective and depth to the remarkable transformation in American attitudes and practices that has taken place in the historically short span of half a century."

What is the essential characteristic of this "remarkable transformation"? Again employing Roche's words, it is that "the last fifty years have seen the most meaningful development, the greatest breakthroughs, in human freedom in our history."

Common opinion is that decline not ascent is the true depiction. Academics, especially those who have been victims or critics of superpatriots' excesses, may boggle at Roche's judgment. Surely Roche is wrong, and decades deserve description as retrograde that followed the pre-1917 golden age—that happy time when government rarely galled and harmony attended the workings of American society.

According to this popular view, Wilson's war and then normalcy linked government with repression. Red Scares accompanied lean years for labor and farmers. Bigots plagued minorities with restrictions and exclusions. New war saw the needless relocation of Japanese-Americans and the cruel assignment of Negroes to menial tasks. Loyalty-security policies and politics since 1947 and anti-integration frenzies since 1954 cap this sad story of declining liberty.

Roche neither ignores nor minimizes these blots. Instead he incorporates them into his hardheaded account, and, comparing present levels of libertarian practice with what obtained earlier, he finds adequate justification for turning the traditional view on its head. The good old days were never golden. Pre-1917 America was riddled with restraints and rotten with racial, religious, and class injustices. Government's hands rested inert save to prop the strong. The Bill of Rights appeared at best to be irrelevant or obsolete, linked to its eighteenth-century concept of negatives and neglectful of the nineteenth-century promises voiced after so much travail in the Reconstruction amendments. So few people

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cared about matters of civil liberties that the score on undemocratic practices was scarcely kept at all.

Today men keep score. Watchdogs wait in government and in private associations (one of which, the B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League, sponsored Roche's study) to report on substandard practices in matters of liberty and to try to lift up men's hearts and minds to higher standards of conduct. Anti-Catholic bigotry has so diminished in political terms that until Kennedy's assassination the President, the House Speaker, the Senate majority leader, and the chairman of the National Committee of the Democratic party were members of that Church. Now piebald armed services mix Negroes with whites, and university presidents plead publicly for colored applicants to come forward for faculty appointments. The spectacular freedom marches, sit-ins, and boycotts would have been simply inconceivable before the present time. However incompletely adapted to modern needs, the Bill of Rights is no longer a cliché.

All this grand accomplishment had to be fought for and hard. Roche is a veteran of these wars as well as a scholar, and he is well aware of the tenacious ghettos that still bar Americans from adequate shares in housing, education, and jobs. Even victories involved setbacks—a state, passing an FEPC statute, also enacts a loyalty oath law. But the important fact is that during the past fifty years, for a congeries of reasons which Roche explores in brilliant forays, the United States has swum ever more clearly against totalitarian tides abroad and has employed increasing segments of governmental power to pull out of domestic quicksands of bigotry and carelessness. Progress, if uneven, has been significant enough to keep Americans from despair. Perhaps this is the most important fact of our history during the last half century.

Roche deserves congratulations for his perception and for his vigorous expression of these views. To be sure, readers of his earlier periodical pieces and his recent *Courts and Rights* will not be surprised at the judgments offered in *Quest for the Dream*. This book performs the service of bringing together in a unified narrative heretofore discrete parcels of Roche's scholarship, and at a high level of literary quality as well. It will trigger constructive controversy.

University of Illinois HAROLD M. HYMAN

HENRY L. STIMSON AND JAPAN, 1931–33. By *Armin Rappaport.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 238. $6.00.)

WHY the United States and Great Britain failed to halt Japan in Manchuria, Professor Rappaport writes, is a crucial question that has troubled scholars since 1931. His study seeks to provide the answer, as far as the United States is concerned, "by examining the policies of the principal decision-makers and the moods of the people." To a lesser degree it attempts "to do the same thing for Britain" and "to include some account of Japan's position," notwithstanding the paucity

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of official documents and private papers. Seven chapters cover the international situation on September 18; the hands-off period to October 13; the events leading to the appointment of a commission of inquiry on December 11; the shaping of the nonrecognition doctrine of January 7, 1932; the fighting in Shanghai and the letter to William E. Borah of February 24; the exasperating spring and summer of 1932 as Manchukuo came into being; and finally the adoption of the Lytton Report, the Japanese walkout at Geneva, and the transition to the Roosevelt administration. A twenty-five-page appendix contains a letter from the Stimson Papers by George H. Blakeslee describing the operations of the Lytton Commission; a two-page note on primary sources replaces a bibliography. These sources include the printed and unprinted papers of the State Department, the files of the Chief of Naval Operations, twenty-one manuscript collections, the published British diplomatic correspondence, the exhibits of the Tokyo war crimes trial, and microfilm copies of documents from the Japanese Foreign Office and of diaries kept by two Japanese elder statesmen. The very full footnotes are occasionally inaccurate; a few quotations have been garbled.

Stimson's course after the Mukden incident and his relations with President Hoover are hardly neglected subjects, and Rappaport adds little by way of appraisal to Robert H. Ferrell's *American Diplomacy in the Great Depression* (1957), to Elting E. Morison's *Turmoil and Tradition* (1960), or to Richard N. Current's *Secretary Stimson* (1954)—none of which are mentioned anywhere in the book. Indeed, his conclusions on Stimson seem less consistent and perceptive than those in Ferrell and Morison. Nor has he given much more information than his predecessors on the influence exerted by Congress and the armed forces on "the policies of the principal decision-makers." He cites only five documents from the hitherto untapped files of the Chief of Naval Operations and does nothing with the records of the General Board, the Joint Board, or the War Department. The British documents provide a few new details; only five papers from the Japanese Foreign Office microfilms appear to have been used.

Rappaport's contribution is more substantial when he discusses "the moods of the people." His research in newspapers and periodicals, at home and abroad, is extensive. By drawing upon the files of such interest groups as the American Boycott Association, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the League of Nations Association, the Twentieth Century Fund, and the World Peace Foundation, he can show how the policy makers encountered outside pressure, but he cannot demonstrate that they yielded to it. He has also used more than his predecessors State Department papers not printed in the *Foreign Relations* series. Perhaps the most valuable part of the volume is the last two chapters, for earlier writers have hurried over developments following publication of the Borah letter. The author argues persuasively that Stimson's address before the Council on Foreign Relations on August 8, 1932, was a logical outgrowth of his policies set forth on January 7 and February 24. Rappaport

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is also good on the work of the Lytton Commission and the drafting of its report.

Northwestern University RICHARD W. LEOPOLD

JAMES FORRESTAL: A STUDY OF PERSONALITY, POLITICS, AND POLICY. By *Arnold A. Rogow*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1963. Pp. xv, 397. $6.95.)

UNTIL the last months of his life, James V. Forrestal seemed almost the perfect example of the American success story. Born of Irish parents, not poor but certainly not rich or well-connected, he made his way from the small New York town of Beacon via Dartmouth and Princeton to Wall Street where he made a fortune and at the age of forty-six became president of the powerful investment firm of Dillon, Read, and Company. As the United States moved closer to war in 1940, Forrestal left Wall Street to enter public life. For a brief period he served as administrative assistant to President Roosevelt, then became Undersecretary of the Navy, where he played a major role in building the most powerful navy in the world. On Knox's death in April 1944 he became Secretary of the Navy, and in July 1947, after vigorously opposing the unification of the services, was appointed by President Truman the nation's first Secretary of Defense. One of the most powerful men in Washington and a potential presidential candidate, he became increasingly involved in controversial policies. In March 1949, already a sick man with an obsession about Zionists and Communists, he resigned from the Truman cabinet. Two months later, a psychiatric patient at the Bethesda Naval Hospital, he jumped from his sixteenth floor window to his death.

There is much in this brilliant and tragic career to intrigue the biographer. Forrestal's diaries, edited by Walter Millis, provide much information on the later years of his life. A more recent work by Robert G. Albion and R. H. Connery covers his work in the Navy Department. The present study is the first attempt at a full-scale biography. The author has apparently relied heavily (there is no bibliography) on the published diaries and the work of Albion and Connery, and to these he has added newspaper and magazine stories, congressional hearings, and the recollections, secured by interview and correspondence, of those who knew Forrestal during his lifetime. With these, Professor Rogow has fashioned a fascinating and highly readable account of Forrestal's life, as well as those events in which he played a major role. In this respect, it is an entirely satisfactory study, especially for the years immediately following World War II when Forrestal had become a major figure in the Truman administration.

As an explanation of Forrestal's career, his public successes and private failures, this book is much less satisfactory. Rogow, a political scientist, seeks the key to an understanding of Forrestal in the mental illness that led to his death. This psychiatric approach raises all kinds of problems and leads to an interpreta-

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tion of political behavior in terms of a dominating mother, an indulgent father, and feelings of guilt from which Forrestal never escaped and which led finally to his death. Such an approach may offer useful insights, but it scarcely provides a convincing explanation of Forrestal's public career or private life.

Dartmouth College LOUIS MORTON

THE REVOLUTION IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: ITS GLOBAL RANGE. By *William G. Carleton.* (New York: Random House. 1963. Pp. x, 530. $6.95.)

IN 1954 William G. Carleton, formerly professor of political science and history at the University of Florida, published a brief survey of American foreign policy covering the years since the end of the Second World War. That synopsis, one of the first of its kind, met a need in colleges where contemporary events were taught, particularly in undergraduate courses in political science, and hence was successful enough to be revised and published in another edition in 1957. This present volume, under the same title, is an expanded version of the earlier booklet. Since the new revision is five times as large as the original work, this can be considered virtually a new book.

Like the earlier versions, this one tells the story of international affairs since 1945 and the efforts of American statesmen to cope with those global events. Within this wide scope the author conceives foreign policy broadly, believing that it encompasses practically all of the social sciences, such as economics, sociology, anthropology, and social psychology, as well as political science and history. One of his purposes is to integrate material from these disciplines with the diverse events of the postwar world and fashion them into a meaningful whole so that the busy student or interested citizen might be able to understand quickly and clearly basic facts and forces in recent American foreign policy. Another objective is to place contemporary events in historical perspective, in other words to treat the present as history.

These objectives, in effect, explain the nature of this book. It is essentially a synthesis based on works such as *The United States in World Affairs,* yearly surveys published by the Council on Foreign Relations, journals of opinion such as *Foreign Affairs,* and the better newspapers, such as the New York *Times.* In its organization the book combines the chronological with the topical approach, but emphasizes the topical. It also attempts to blend descriptive narrative with interpretive analysis, but stresses factual narrative. The book's theme is implicit in its title: since 1945 American foreign policy has undergone revolutionary change. That change continues. "For American foreign policy to be effective," Carleton writes, "Americans themselves would have to undergo a psychological revolution and learn to think in global terms, in terms of power politics, social politics, and propaganda politics."

For the historian of American foreign policy or the advanced student of

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the subject, this book contains little that is not already available in the better textbooks on American diplomatic history. In fact, several of those texts cover the same material with deeper historical insight and scholarship. Yet this book does differ from those histories in one respect at least; it devotes more space than they to the politics and diplomacy of foreign countries, such as those in Europe, Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America.

For the undergraduate and the general reader the author has succeeded in doing what he sought to do. He has written a sound general introduction to recent American foreign policy that is objective and mature in its judgments, discriminating in its choice of data, and clear and readable in its style.

University of California, Santa Barbara ALEXANDER DECONDE

THE UNION NATIONALE: A STUDY IN QUEBEC NATIONALISM. By *Herbert F. Quinn*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 249. $7.50.)

MAURICE Duplessis's *Union Nationale* party held power in Quebec from 1936 to 1939 and from 1944 to 1960. In its origins a coalition of Conservatives and radical Liberals, it became a one-man political machine soon after Duplessis assumed office in 1936, and it crumbled within less than a year after his death in September 1959. Since Duplessis was the *Union Nationale,* Professor Quinn's study of the party rather than the man, as a case history of the pattern of parties and politics while Quebec was engulfed in the second Canadian Industrial Revolution, is less rewarding than might be anticipated from the first academic account of the most extraordinary political phenomenon in twentieth-century Canadian history. Though this book brings together a mass of hitherto uncollected valuable material, it is *Hamlet* without the prince.

The first three chapters, which attempt to supply the background from which the *Union Nationale* arose, reveal a hazy concept of the history of Quebec nationalism and are marred by a number of errors of fact and interpretation on vital matters. As a political scientist Quinn is obviously much more at home in the next four chapters devoted to the formation of the *Union Nationale,* its reversal of its original nationalist economic policy, its attitude toward the federal government, and its administrative and electoral practices. But even here there are some singular omissions: no mention of the Rowell-Sirois and Tremblay Commissions, a scant account of Duplessis's role in federal-provincial conferences, and a most inadequate account of how Duplessis's anti-Communism led to the virtual destruction of civil liberties in Quebec. There is an almost total absence of the inside story, derived from other than formal sources, that the preface promises. Two more chapters devoted to the revolt against the Duplessis dictatorship and to its defeat in 1960 have glaring gaps. A final chapter concludes that an ethnic minority puts cultural survival before economic interest, that "social Catholicism" has more appeal than socialism to a strongly Catholic

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society, and that a party can perpetuate itself in power when democratic institutions are not accompanied by democratic convictions.

Quinn's basic thesis is that Duplessis transformed the radical nationalism which he espoused in 1936 into the reactionary nationalism of his second administration by reversing the reform program on which he was first elected. This is true enough, but it begs the vital question of whether Duplessis was ever a true nationalist, rather than an opportunistic practical politician who successfully pursued power by exploiting the traditional nationalism of the people he ruled in so dictatorial and cynical a fashion. The anti-Duplessis union of nationalist forces in 1960 suggests that the falsity of his nationalism was finally realized.

University of Rochester MASON WADE

LIFE AND LABOR IN ANCIENT MEXICO: *THE BRIEF AND SUMMARY RELATION OF THE LORDS OF NEW SPAIN*. By *Alonso de Zorita*. Translated and with an introduction by *Benjamin Keen*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1963. Pp. 328. $7.50.)

IT is a credit to our humanity that the dismal fate of the Indians in the Spanish Empire continues, after all these centuries, to excite our sympathy, and it would be a hardhearted scoundrel indeed who would not be moved by Benjamin Keen's excellent translation of Zorita's *Relation,* which was written toward the end of the sixteenth century, but not published until 1840. This is its first appearance in English. Zorita's book is a curious blend of romantic fancy and realistic detail: romantic where it depicts the all but idyllic life of Mexico before the conquest (reflecting in this the absurdities of Las Casas' *Apologética Historia de las Indias*); realistic where it describes native life under the conquerors, as observed by Zorita himself, although his polemical approach has raised doubts of his reliability. Keen counters this objection by arguing that these two conflicting aspects of Zorita's work do not necessarily vitiate its value as a source book for conditions among the natives of New Spain in the sixteenth century. I agree with him. What does diminish its value, in my opinion, is that the subject has been thoroughly winnowed long since and that Zorita's testimony changes in no essential respect what we already know from a number of other accounts and special studies. A bibliography of them would have added to the usefulness of Keen's illuminating introduction and warned the reader that other aspects of the matter are worthy of exploration.

One of these aspects, to which the translator gives too little emphasis, is the crown's immediate responsibility for the destruction of the native races. From the moment that Columbus, in an evil hour, discovered placer gold in Española, the crown, in its instructions to royal officers, never failed to stress the importance of augmenting its revenues (the "King's fifth"), which meant the invention of some means to get the natives into the gold pits and keep them there. The device introduced by Governor Ovando in 1503, with Queen Isabella's approval, was the encomienda, whereby the crown delegated its authority to private citi-

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zens, with the implicit obligation of forcing the Indians to extract gold. The ghastly effect of this abrogation of royal power was the virtual extinction of the natives of the Antilles within a single generation. During that time the encomienda became the accepted way of rewarding the conquerors for exploring and seizing new dominions, for they were not otherwise remunerated. Thus an entrenched quasi-feudal class was created, exceedingly hard to control, and exceedingly distasteful to the crown. So the crown undertook to reconquer the Indies from the conquerors, a kind of highjacking operation, implemented by a long series of edicts, the most famous of which was the New Laws of 1542, which decreed the immediate abolition of Indian chattel slavery and the eventual extinction of the encomiendas.

In this task the crown had the effective support of the fiery Las Casas and his followers, including Zorita, who argued that the Spaniards had no legal or moral right to exploit the Indians for their own profit, and who thus invalidated the juridical basis of the encomienda. Unmoved by the anguished protests of the colonists, the crown dispatched royal visitors to all parts of the Indies, armed with the necessary papers, to scrutinize encomienda titles, make population counts, adjust the tributes accordingly, and emancipate the Indian slaves taken illegally. These men were of the highest rank in the civil service, men such as Viceroy Luis de Velasco, Alonso López de Cerrato, Sancho de Clavijo, Lebrón de Quiñones, Diego Ramírez, and Alonso de Zorita, trusted servants of the crown, who could be counted on to execute their instructions to the letter. This they did, and at once became the most hated officers in the Indies, attacked, slandered, and persecuted on all sides. One of the most mistreated victims was Zorita, who, after nineteen years of badgering, was obliged to borrow money to return to Spain. Nor were their labors in behalf of the Indians productive of much permanent good, for the crushing debts of Philip II made any substantial reduction of native tributes out of the question. On the contrary, the vast expense of equipping the Invincible Armada forced him to raise the tribute of the Indians of Guatemala and New Spain by half a peso a year, that is, an increase of 50 per cent in the money tribute, a tax that was still being collected a hundred years later. Indeed, the inescapable conclusion is that Philip's motive in the reform was principally the transfer of the encomendero's tributes to the royal treasury. This he effected by replacing the encomenderos with salaried officers (*corregidores*), whose abuses were so notorious that, according to Jerónimo de Mendieta (in his *Historia Eclesiástica de las Indias*), they became the worst plague ever suffered by the Indians.

University of California, Berkeley LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON

MEXICO: THE CHALLENGE OF POVERTY AND ILLITERACY. By *Ramón Eduardo Ruiz*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1963. Pp. xiv, 234. $6.00.)

RAMÓN Ruiz of Smith College has developed his doctoral dissertation into a

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reappraisal of revolutionary Mexico's efforts to achieve social and economic progress through rural education. Historically, the Mexican educational program was marked by striking originality, and the failure of the Mexican Revolution to achieve fully its goals has meant that the problem of education persists as one of contemporary importance.

This volume is divided into two basic parts, one posing the problem and summarizing its historical evolution, and the other topically concerned with specific difficulties that the Mexican revolutionaries had to face in the field of education. Beginning with a background chapter emphasizing the rural situation under Díaz, Ruiz proceeds to review the educational development of three periods of postrevolutionary Mexico. In successive chapters he describes what he labels "the conservative pioneers" of the twenties, the socialist school of the thirties, and education with "business in the saddle" during the years since 1940.

The cultural missions, rural normal and agricultural schools, and Indian education are among the topics and problems treated in the second and larger section of the volume. Here there is original material not previously available in English. In both sections are to be found the principal leaders, programs, and institutions, together with the successes and failures that make the story of the revolutionary educational effort so fascinating.

Despite all these favorable elements, the volume is disappointing, partially because of defects resulting from its organization. The historical sections tend at times to be superficial with periods characterized in oversimplified terms, while the topical chapters, in which individual problems are traced chronologically, suffer from repetition. A second weakness is the author's tendency to take a partisan position toward men and events. While it is easy for the reader to adjust to such open partisanship, the author seems to find it difficult to give an objective evaluation of the educational efforts that accompanied the industrialization and urbanization of Mexico.

There has been a real need for a study to serve as an up-to-date complement to Kneller's *The Education of the Mexican Nation* (1951) by emphasizing developments of the past dozen years. Aside from this rather jaundiced view of such recent developments, Ruiz has included only the briefest and quite incomplete references to events since 1958. For example, there is no mention of Torres Bodet's National Plan for Primary Education or the free textbook program and the controversy it provoked.

Despite these shortcomings, the author's extensive use of government publications and periodical materials has made available considerable information about the Mexican rural education effort.

State University of New York, Stony Brook STANLEY ROBERT ROSS

THE FABULOUS LIFE OF DIEGO RIVERA. By *Bertram D. Wolfe.* (New York: Stein and Day, Publishers. 1963. Pp. xxi, 457, 164 plates. $10.00.)

TWICE-TOLD biographies by the same author are uncommon. In them the same

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event has different meanings at separate times. The effect is both more detailed and less certain, being, so to speak, in stereochronic perspective. Bertram Wolfe's first book about Rivera appeared in 1939 (*Diego Rivera: His Life and Times*). The second life comes out seven years after Rivera's death. It retells the early years, and it narrates the quarter century since the beginning of World War II. Like the first life, this second one will appeal to students of art as well as politics in our time. But if the life required two tellings, this biography should have two reviewers, one for the painter, and, more important, another for the political events. The first life was in praise of a Communist painter, and the second one is about a Mexican painter seeking Communist approval.

In the title the word "fabulous" refers to Rivera's lifelong habit of distorting the facts of his life. The choice of this adjective imposed upon the biographer a duty to prove and verify and document every assertion from the lips and pen of his subject. But there is no apparatus of this sort in the book. The chronological sequence is often unclear. Sources are rarely specified. Discrepancies are left unexplained.

For all of Rivera's work since 1939 there are only 9 illustrations (out of 203) to accompany some 60 pages of text. On the other hand, Rivera's European pictures (1907–1921) are more abundantly illustrated than in the earlier biography.

Wolfe still ranks Rivera among the greatest names in the history of painting. He is perhaps better grouped with older illustrators of the American world: with the Indian artists working for Fray Bernardino de Sahagún in Mexico during the sixteenth century; with Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala in the seventeenth century, protesting in vivid drawings against Peruvian colonial abuses; and the unnamed Peruvian painters who so abundantly illustrated the lost treatise on the bishopric of Trujillo by Jaime Martínez Compañón in the 1780's. Like theirs, Rivera's art is topically interesting, and it documents many eras of his country's history.

Even before Rivera's departure from Paris, the outlines of a new painting, which he later rejected, were clearly visible. Yet Wolfe treats Rivera as an artistic innovator. Most students of twentieth-century painting, however, would agree in describing Rivera's art as the end of a line rather than as a beginning. It is at the end of the long traditions of figural allegory, and of historical portraiture and caricature. In this context, Wolfe's two accounts are the best we now have. But they both are stories of his life more than histories of his painting.

Yale University George Kubler

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Other Recent Publications

BOOKS

General

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XXIX, 1960, including some publications of previous years. Edited with the contribution of the national committees by *Michel François* and *Nicolas Tolu* for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. [Published with the assistance of UNESCO, and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1962. Pp. xxvi, 477.) Reviews of an annual compilation are inevitably repetitious; this one is regrettably so. Readers are referred to the review of Volume XXVII of the *IBOHS* (*AHR,* LXVIII [Oct. 1962], 168). The same curious and rather major omissions continue to obtain, doubly unfortunate because they are bibliographical items that one would think would be of particular interest to bibliographers. Withal the compilation is a useful work, helpful to the kinds of libraries indicated in its preface so long as their librarians and users are aware of the limitations indicated above. It notices some 8,376 titles (books and articles), a new high, presented in some 7,276 entries. The increasing and economical use of composite entries permitting the listing of several titles under the same subject is to be applauded, as is the more systematic indication, in few words, of the nature of the contents where the title is not explicit. The bibliography remains, however, selective and descriptive, not analytical or critical. It lists 59 per cent of the titles submitted to the compilers by the national committees.

Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society — LESTER W. SMITH

THE ROMANTIC SYNDROME: TOWARD A NEW METHOD IN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND HISTORY OF IDEAS. By *W. T. Jones.* [International Scholars Forum, A Series of Books by American Scholars, Number 14.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1961. Pp. xv, 255, 20 plates. Glds. 23.75.) Professor Jones, author of an excellent history of philosophy, attempts in this book to list a set of "biases" in terms of which the history of ideas and cultural anthropology can be written. The history of ideas, as he sees it, is the general movement of intellectual and aesthetic interests as found not in individual men but in periods, styles, schools, trends. Thus no mention is made of the kind of work done by the late A. O. Lovejoy in *The Great Chain of Being,* though the phrase itself is used. The biases in question are deeply rooted prejudices or preferences found in what Lovejoy called the "metaphysical pathos" of certain words and phrases. Lack of space prevents listing all seven, but the "Order/Disorder Axis" is an example. This "consists in the range of attitudes lying between a strong preference for fluidity, muddle, and chaos and a strong preference for system, clarity, and conceptual analysis." Philosophers, scientists, poets, painters, and, one suspects, anybody who tries to communicate anything to anyone else, can be located along this axis. The locating will apparently be done by Jones after an examination of the words

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and phrases that he finds in the works of the man under scrutiny. But since he is more interested in groups of men than in individuals, he is satisfied to dwell upon very general common traits. These, though appearing in individuals, compose such events known as the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, the romantic movement. It turns out that the human beings who participated in or made up the movements are strung along the axes in various positions, no two being necessarily in the same spot. In short, what Jones has done is to urge that certain individuals who more or less had the same likes and dislikes be given a common name.

Ruxton, Maryland GEORGE BOAS

HOW PHILOSOPHY USES ITS PAST. By *John Herman Randall, Jr.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 106. $3.50.) Readers of *The Career of Philosophy* (see *AHR,* LXVIII [Jan. 1963], 407) will know that Professor Randall has views about the historical dimension of philosophy that many philosophers do not share. To historians, on the other hand, these views will be immediately understandable and appealing, especially in the form in which they are presented here: lectures (delivered in 1961), lively in tone, lucid in exposition, and neatly organized around three principal themes. There is, first, the cultural function of philosophy. This is a double-barreled thesis that philosophy is a social enterprise in the sense that social experience ultimately provides philosophers with their problems, and, therefore, a necessary condition for understanding philosophic problems is knowledge of the sociocultural changes that brought them about; it follows that the history of philosophy is a philosophic enterprise. (Philosophers who assign a more autonomous status to their problems would deny that these problems are historical in Randall's sense and that studying their history is philosophizing.) The second theme is a delineation of the concept of "philosophical tradition," employed to such advantage in the author's *Career of Philosophy.* The Platonic, Augustinian, Aristotelian, and atomistic traditions, as well as the later Kantian, Hegelian, and empiricist-positivistic ones, are cited to enforce the notion that philosophic discourse is ultimately about the same thing, no matter how varied the language employed. It is the attempt to assimilate, adjust, and reconstruct the "coming to terms with the conditions of human life." The third theme is an argument in favor of the genetic or historical method. To understand every significant philosopher of the past, to understand our own philosophic problems today, indeed to understand any of our intellectual problems, we must analyze the relevant past cultural conflicts, assumptions, and resources. There is a very simple, and perhaps urgent, reason why Randall's third theme should be noted by historians especially. Our pious injunction that in order to understand the present (and ourselves) we must study the past is often academic rhetoric, a conventional justification of the historian's usefulness, increasingly implausible in the age of nuclear politics (and of acceptance of psychological explanation). Historians who want to refurbish that nineteenth-century platitude with twentieth-century meaning could do no better than to read in Randall's pages exactly why it is that knowledge of the past is a necessary condition of knowledge of the present.

Warburg Institute, London GEORGE H. NADEL

RELIGION AND FREEDOM IN THE MODERN WORLD. By *Herbert J. Muller.* [Frank L. Weil Institute for Studies in Religion and the Humanities.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1963. Pp. vii, 129. $3.95.) These six lectures, an outgrowth of the author's two-volume history of freedom, have as their theme the influence of Christian ideals and the established churches in the Western world upon the development of political and civil liberty and social reform after 1800. They also include analyses of the thought of Kierkegaard and Dostoevski and of some contemporary religious thinkers,

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notably Paul Tillich, and venture some tentative conclusions as to the future of Christianity. Although the author has no religious commitment, he is sympathetic with the liberal Protestant point of view. He concludes that religion was not a major inspiration in the revolutions of modern times, and, contrary to recent scholarship, denies that religion was an issue or vital factor in the American Revolution. He declares that although Christian idealism stimulated the struggle for democracy and social justice, the major churches in the nineteenth century, affiliated with capitalistic interests, hostile to science, and nationalistic, were conservative forces and consequently alienated the working class and contributed to the rise of revolutionary socialism. Although the Catholic Church since the time of Leo XIII has disapproved of unregulated capitalism and has accepted democratic governments, and the Protestant churches have supported civil liberties and social reform, their reactionary record and acceptance of inequality weaken their appeal to the masses today. Muller believes that growing secularism has not produced a decline in morals but a more varied and creative society. Christianity is not essential as a basis for democracy, but has merit as an inspiration to men in meeting the challenges of the twentieth century. This is a provocative book, full of sweeping generalizations that need qualification or correction. It is a work of opinion, rather than history.

State University College, New Paltz, New York EVELYN M. ACOMB

MILLENNIAL DREAMS IN ACTION: ESSAYS IN COMPARATIVE STUDY. Edited by *Sylvia L. Thrupp*. [Comparative Studies in Society and History, Supplement 2.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1962. Pp. 229. $4.50.) This collaborative study results from a conference held in Chicago in 1960 at which scholars from various quarters of the globe engaged in a comparative inquiry with respect to "millennial dreams in action." The participants were interested in the subject from the angles of religion, anthropology, economics, and politics, but primarily of religion because millennianism is distinguished from utopianism and revolutionary socialism because characterized by "salvationism," involving a spiritual regeneration of individuals and society, even though terrestrial goals may be included such as peace and plenty. The term millennianism is not used here in the narrow sense of an exact thousand-year period, but with reference to any future era, long or short, marked by a new order of society. Sometimes it is regarded as the restoration of a lost golden age in the past. Frequently it is to be ushered in by a messianic figure. The causes of millennianism are complex. The basic cause obviously is the belief that the present situation is in some respect unsatisfactory and is to be superseded by a better situation. In what respect the present is unsatisfactory is variously answered. Economic distress has not been primary. There have been millennial movements among the prosperous middle classes. Jehovah's Witnesses in our own day are an example. Sometimes a prophet who has long entertained millennial dreams of a religious nature has been able by reason of a fortuitous circumstance to find a following among those already engaged in social revolt for mundane reasons. This was true of Thomas Müntzer and his connection with the Peasants' War. Sometimes an unexpected opportunity has inspired a millennial endeavor. Savonarola, prior to the fall of the Medici, was a prophet of apocalyptic doom. When their expulsion introduced the possibility of a reformed regime, he became the architect of hope. Deprivation, in any case, is a relative term and may mean only that those whose lot has not deteriorated are envious of those whose lot has improved. This appears to be the case with the Ras Tafari movement in Jamaica. Dislocation of the social structure, particularly through Westernization, occasions in many instances a longing for the restoration of the ancient ways, including even head-hunting. But the breakdown of an old culture is not the sole cause of millennial movements; they were anticipated before the break. In Brazil, before

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the coming of the Portuguese, the Indians engaged in migrations in accord with myths about some happy land to which their god would lead them, and in three sections of Indonesia, before the coming of Christianity and prior to Dutch rule, there were movements with a charismatic messianic aspect. Again vague anxieties or specific contrition for particular sins may inspire the expectation of a new age and a redeemed humanity. Disappointment over frustrated hopes in some human endeavor may lead to a quest for consolation through supernatural deliverance. The so-called cargo cults in Melanesia arose when the expectation that conversion to Christianity would give the natives an equal share in the missionary's cargo of possessions was not fulfilled. The particular form of the millennial hope, in many instances, presents bizarre blendings of pagan, Jewish, and Christian elements and of varied Christian types. In Nyasaland, for example, Livingstone brought the belief in social progress taught by his fellow Scot, Robert Owen. Then came a wave of Baptist fundamentalist missions, followed by an enormous spread of the Watch Tower movement (Jehovah's Witnesses), disseminated by American Negroes. Millennianism may wane if its hopes are not fulfilled, as in the case of the Bohemian Taborites, but it may, on the other hand, persist. Witness the continuance of the influence of Savonarola well into the sixteenth century or the refusal of Jehovah's Witnesses to be daunted because Pastor Russell's date for the end of the age has long since gone by. The authors wisely refrain from what they call "reductionism," that is, the attempt to reduce the causes or the patterns to a single type. In many instances they call for fuller investigation. The book is too full of rich detail for adequate description in so brief a notice.

Woodmont, Connecticut ROLAND H. BAINTON

THE KUNJALIS: ADMIRALS OF CALICUT. By *O. K. Nambiar.* (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1963. Pp. xii, 155. $7.00.) Professor O. K. Nambiar has written a short account of the relations between the midwestern states of India and the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. The first Kunjali was an Indian Moslem merchant adventurer at Cochin, who, after the Portuguese arrived, set up at Ponnani in Calicut and offered his services to the zamorin, being accorded the title of Kunj 'Ali Marakkar, or well-beloved sea captain. His lieutenant, Kutti 'Ali, assisted the Ottomans in the struggle for mastery in the Indian Ocean and preyed on Portuguese shipping between 1523 and 1530. He also supported a pretender to the throne of Ceylon, an adventure that came to an end with the defeat of the zamorin's fleet at Vidulai in 1537. The third Kunjali made war on Mangalore on his own account and in 1570 participated in a league against Goa. But when he set himself up as king in Kotta, the zamorin and the Portuguese united against him. Kotta fell in 1600, and the zamorin handed him over to the Portuguese to be executed. As Nambiar notes, the zamorin and his neighbors were feudal potentates far removed from any idea of Indian nationalism. The attempt to represent the sea captains as "national" leaders is perhaps a historical anachronism. But its chief defect is that so little is known of them. In the present book the Kunjalis are not mentioned at all until page 59 (out of 146), and only sporadically after that. We learn nothing of Ponnani, and very little of their relations with the zamorin. Most of the information is culled from the English translations of the great Portuguese chroniclers and from such works as Danvers (1894). One can only regret the dearth of Indian sources. The Portuguese chroniclers afford an interesting example of objectivity about individual cases and therefore afford material for friend and foe alike. Nambiar's use of this material is rather sensational, and while one would not wish to condemn subjective historical writing *tout court,* the present example of it, with its appearance of objectivity, shows how difficult it is for those who are emotionally involved to apprehend

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underlying issues. An Indian writer whose work was done so soon after the aggression against Goa may be suspect of propaganda; Nambiar tries to present an impression of moderation, not always successfully. "The story of the treacherous and unprovoked attack on Goa . . . is too long to be narrated even briefly in this context"—a footnote would have made it clear that it is the events of 1510, not those of 1961, that are in question.

University of British Columbia H. V. Livermore

AMERICANS AND CHINESE: A HISTORICAL ESSAY AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *Kwang-Ching Liu.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 211. $4.50.) This work is designed to aid studies of nongovernmental contacts between the United States and China from 1784 to 1949. It consists of a 37-page essay that focuses upon the nature and extent of American economic and cultural influence in China, followed by some 1,650 Western-language (almost all English) "bibliographical suggestions." The latter are listed under four headings: manuscripts and archives; biographies, memoirs, and published letters; newspapers and periodicals; and reference works. The first two contain separate entries for groups such as merchants, missionaries, travelers and journalists, scholars, diplomats, military men, Americans serving the Chinese government, and Chinese who came to the United States. Newspapers and periodicals are classified according to whether they were published in the United States or China and are then subdivided into mission magazines, scholarly journals, and so forth. Reference works include general and topical bibliographies, directories of persons and institutions, collections of treaties and agreements, and atlases and place name dictionaries. Professor Liu disclaims any intention of presenting a thorough research guide, and he believes that too little is known about the field to permit evaluation and annotation of the most important sources. In view of his special competence in this area, one might regret that he has been so modest. Nevertheless, Liu has provided a highly valuable aid to research. Scholars will be especially grateful for the many rare items that are included and the care with which repositories of manuscript collections have been noted. The introductory essay is informative and suggestive concerning the importance of Sino-American trade for the economic development of both countries, the nature of missionary influence on Chinese society, the experience of Chinese immigrants in the United States, and the role of American-educated students in China's modernization. Finally, he reminds us that this story has implications for current United States economic and cultural programs in Asia.

George Washington University Michael Gasster

KOREAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS: DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE FAR EASTERN DIPLOMACY OF THE UNITED STATES. Volume II, THE PERIOD OF GROWING INFLUENCE, 1887–1895. Edited, with an introduction, by *Spencer J. Palmer.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 389. $7.50.) The first of three projected volumes covering American-Korean relations, 1883–1905, appeared in 1951 under the editorship of George M. McCune and John A. Harrison. In this second volume, a new editor, Spencer J. Palmer, has ably carried on the work of his predecessors. As in Volume I, the documents published here have been drawn from filmed copies of the private and official correspondence of American representatives in Korea, Japan, China, and Russia, the Seoul legation archives, and the State Department archives; materials have been selected "upon the principle that nothing essential to an understanding of the American role in Korea should be omitted." Volume II contains substantially more documents than Volume I. Aside from this difference only a few minor changes are to be noted: for example, hard covers replace soft

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ones, and tables appear identifying key American and Korean officials for the years 1883–1895. From 1887 to 1895 American diplomacy was concerned primarily with Chinese claims of a privileged position in Korea. Since Japan's position in Korea was weakened by an abortive coup in 1884, the Korean court, seeking to escape Chinese influence, looked to American envoys for assistance. The documents here provide details on the utilization of American good offices in mediating Korean troubles with China and Japan, Korean efforts to obtain American advisers and teachers, and the dispatch of the first Korean envoy to Washington. The documents reveal growing irritation of Americans toward Japanese near the end of the period. While a few of these documents appear in *Foreign Relations of the United States,* most items are printed for the first time. Even so, the story unfolded here is not completely new. Both Tyler Dennett and M. Frederick Nelson, using some of these materials, have dealt with this era. This volume will serve to add detail to the narratives of those historians. When completed, this series may also stimulate the production of a fresh synthesis dealing with American-Korean relations.

North Carolina State College BURTON F. BEERS

BRITAIN'S MOMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, 1914–1956. By *Elizabeth Monroe.* [Britain in the World Today.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1963. Pp. 254. $5.00.) This most informative study, which the prospective reader should not neglect because of the understatement of its title or the rather casual quality of its style and its organization, treats developments from the Arab revolt during World War I down to the Suez crisis of 1956, with particular stress on British policy toward Egypt, Palestine, and Iraq. In approaching these controversial matters Miss Monroe has the double advantage of long acquaintance with the Middle East and cool scholarly detachment. She seeks to understand British actions rather than to denounce them or excuse them, and she dwells less on the continuities of British policy than on its twists and turns and on the reasons behind them. The analysis of these twists and turns, which forms the heart of the book, is at once balanced and persuasive. In explaining Britain's contradictory commitments to the French, the Zionists, and the Arabs during the first war, for example, the author assigns a large role to the "garden suburb"—that is, to Sir Mark Sykes and other special advisers of the Prime Minister who worked in huts in the garden of Number 10 Downing Street and overrode the advice of Foreign Office professionals. Sykes, especially, is criticized for his lack of formal education and intellectual discipline. To cite another example: Eden's mistakes in 1956 may have arisen in part from his overeducation in the glories of Arab culture of early medieval Damascus and Baghdad and his consequent disparagement of its later flowering in Egypt. Monroe, however, is too good a historian to fix all the responsibility on a few individuals. She attributes the contradictions of 1915–1919 also to ignorance and war-weariness, to propitiation of the French ally, and to the conflict of views between policy makers in London and India. The Suez fiasco resulted from excessive reliance on the older generation of pro-Western Arab leaders like Nuri Saïd of Iraq and from failure to understand the younger neutralist Arab nationalists like Nasser of Egypt. Britain, she argues, had never appreciated Egyptian nationalism; her explanations of this blind spot make illuminating reading. Here is a sample: "the Englishmen, and still more the Englishwomen, who arrived in Egypt, often from India, in the heyday of a Victorian superiority complex about caste and colour found there a ruling Turkish group that had maintained a deliberate gap between itself and native Egyptians. The British in Egypt never got over these incentives to be clubby, and their exclusiveness was enhanced by differences of upbringing and outlook. Most educated Egyptians of the occupation period were formed on a French rather than a British model, while a large number of the British

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families on the spot were garrison-born and bred. They felt disdain for a people that had no taste for martial life or field sports. . . ."

University of Rochester JOHN B. CHRISTOPHER

THE UNITED STATES AND NORTH AFRICA: MOROCCO, ALGERIA, AND TUNISIA. By *Charles F. Gallagher.* [The American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 275. $5.50.) In the opening pages of his account of the historic background of the North African states, Mr. Gallagher points up the essentially anomalous character of the lands occupying the northern littoral of the continent. Culturally and linguistically, they have two heritages, Arab and French; geographically, they are attached to the land mass of Africa yet separated from it by the barrier of the desert. North Africa is not itself a political unit. Egypt is regarded as part of the complex of Middle Eastern states, while Libya is left, as the author says, "in a kind of limbo which corresponds in fact to the ambivalent position in which it finds itself in the Arab world, belonging neither to the eastern nor western wing of it." The present volume gives major emphasis to an account of the growth of the independence movements in the three Northwest African countries and to a consideration of the prospects of each after independence. For none of them is the prognosis very encouraging, and for Algeria least of all because there the devastation of the independence struggle must be added to the built-in cultural and technological handicaps to be overcome before a unified nation can be created. The author himself points out that his book is mistitled; less than twenty pages are devoted to the relations of the United States with the Maghrib. But, in view of the excellent discussion of North African development in the rest of the volume, I do not object to the summary treatment of American concern in the area. Gallagher's analysis of the forces of change at work in the modernization of Maghribi society is succinct, accurate, and highly readable. The tragedy is that one must agree with his observation: "The entire society is, in the largest sense, mobile because it has lost its anchor and is drifting or rushing without much control into a maelstrom."

Columbia University L. GRAY COWAN

DEUTSCHLAND UND AMERIKA, 1918–1929: ÜBER DAS DEUTSCHE AMERIKABILD DER ZWANZIGER JAHRE. By *Peter Berg.* [Historische Studien, Number 385.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag. 1963. Pp. 163. DM 16.80.) This doctoral dissertation, prepared under the guidance of Hans Herzfeld at the Free University in Berlin, is a solid piece of work. It is based on careful examination of German newspapers and periodicals in the crucial years 1918–1929. Berg aims at fairness in presenting opinions from the Marxist Left to the far Right. In general, he succeeds in re-creating the image of America as seen by the press of the Weimar Republic. Perhaps the first chapter is most instructive. In it he analyzes the gradual change in the German attitude toward Wilson from October 1918, when the democratic elements put all their faith in him, to May 1919, after the details of the Paris peace treaty had become known; the saintly hero looked now like a very weak and inept politician, even to liberal editorial writers. In the second chapter Berg traces the political aspects of the German image of America in the postwar era. He tries to cover too much ground in limited space and is rather unsatisfactory for the years when the Dawes plan was in operation. On the basis of my recollections, I cannot agree with Berg who believes that the German interest in American politics declined after the acceptance of the Dawes plan. The third chapter describes the rich and often exciting German literature which glorifies the American "economic miracle." The interest in US business methods was so great that 200,000 copies of Henry Ford's autobiography were sold in German translation. In the fourth

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chapter Berg pays undue attention to the diatribes of Adolf Halfeld, a nationalistic journalist, about "Americanism." He might rather have dealt with Stresemann's attitude toward America (Berg obviously overlooked my essay on this important subject in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte,* III [Jan. 1955], 20–35) or with the growing interest in Carl Schurz, which was demonstrated in the celebration of his centennial, when Hermann Oncken spoke in the *Reichstag* and Theodor Heuss in the *Paulskirche*. In spite of these and other shortcomings, this is an informative volume.

Trenton State College FELIX E. HIRSCH

LOCARNO-KONFERENZ, 1925: EINE DOKUMENTENSAMMLUNG. Edited by the Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1962. Pp. 241. DM 13.30.) These diplomatic documents published by the "Foreign Ministry" of the German Democratic Republic amount to a "White Paper." They pretend to show the anti-Soviet basis of the German diplomatic gambit that led to the Locarno Conference (October 5–16, 1925). Dr. Wolfgang Ruge's ludicrous commentary attempts to point up this message. He draws a parallel between German foreign relations after Locarno and after World War II. He insists that the United States was the principal malefactor in both situations. After Locarno the US encouraged and financed the aggressive designs of German "monopoly bourgeoisie." American "imperialism" enrolled Germany in the solid capitalist front against the USSR. Since 1945 American "monopoly capitalists" have helped Bonn's "clerical-militarists" to prepare new aggressions and so forth. What is most striking about the documents is the lack of support for this farfetched comment. Instead of a deep-seated enmity for the USSR, both Stresemann's memoranda and Brockdorff-Rantzau's comments show a steadfast effort to preserve the gains of the Rapallo policy. Stresemann and the German diplomats seem most concerned about maintaining Soviet friendship, not consolidating their newly won admission to the circle of Western Powers. Nor can the selection of documents, which includes a generous sampling of Brockdorff-Rantzau's memoranda, hide the division of opinion in the Wilhelmstrasse over the effect Locarno might have on German-Soviet relations. As one might expect, Brockdorff-Rantzau's doubt and despair about the Locarno policy are featured in the documents. Various topical omissions diminish the publication's value. The joint German-Soviet concern about Poland's future goes unmentioned in the text. The documents afford only one tantalizing glimpse of Stresemann's speculation about future German-Polish relations. Nothing is said about Soviet-German economic or military collaboration; to have done so would destroy the illusion that Locarno marked the beginning of enmity between Germany and the USSR.

University of Oregon WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN

POLITIK, MILITÄR, BÜNDNIS. By *Friedrich Ruge.* [Politische Bücherei, Number 4.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1963. Pp. 157.) The former head of the West German Navy and historian of the German Navy in the Second World War is now at the University of Tübingen. This little survey of civil-military relations and alliances is of greater interest to students of current German attitudes on these problems than to historians of civil-military relations. About two-thirds of the book deals with civil-military relations, and two-thirds of that section with Germany. Admiral Ruge's treatment is sound, but conventional. It summarizes the best German accounts from Gerhard Ritter back to Hans Delbrück. The bibliography for this section includes Raymond Garthoff's *Soviet Strategy in the Nuclear Age* and two collections of essays in English edited by Harry Coles and Michael Howard. Gordon Craig is not mentioned, but Walter Millis, G. M. C. Sprung, Harold Gordon, and John W. Wheeler-Bennett are

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cited in German translations. Sir John Winthrop Hackett's superb *The Profession of Arms* (1963) may have been too recent to be included. A page and a half are given to French civil-military relations, and no French works or works in English or German about France are cited. The relations of private industry to military and naval policy, so important in the history of the German Navy and a key factor in civil-military relations, are ignored. Eckart Kehr's pioneer German work is probably out of print, or the whole touchy subject may be left to the Marxist historians. The section on alliances is even more conventional. More than three-quarters of that section deals with NATO. Though the author feels that NATO must be strengthened by closer political cooperation, none of the sticky political questions that will determine NATO's future evolution are mentioned. The best single work on these problems, Frederick W. Mulley's *The Politics of Western Defence*, appeared in 1962 and was translated into German in 1963. One 1963 title is listed, but Mulley's work, like that of Hackett, may not have been available when these lectures were given.

Duke University THEODORE ROPP

LA COOPÉRATION INTELLECTUELLE SOUS LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS. By *Pham-Thi-Tu*. (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1962. Pp. 268.) Most historians will probably agree that today's world is quite different from that of 1919–1939. They will also agree that, within limitations, there are a good many lessons in the field of international relations that can be carried over from one period of history to the next. This, at least, is the assumption on which Dr. Pham-Thi-Tu bases his study of intellectual cooperation under the League of Nations. At the outset the author bemoans the fact that many students of UNESCO tend to overlook or ignore the existence and work of the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation. If one examines objectively UNESCO's activity in the field of intellectual cooperation, it is contended, he will find that most of the projects are in fact merely the resumption, the continuation, or the amplification of those already launched under the auspices of the League of Nations. The book is divided into three main parts. In a short introduction the author reviews the historical antecedents of the IIIC; in Part I he examines its creation, its basic principles, and its objectives, and the attitude of the Great Powers toward the organization. Part II is devoted to a study of the organization of the IIIC and the contribution of its component parts in the scientific and cultural fields and in connection with the maintenance of world peace. In Part III the author explores at some length the cooperation in the 1930's between the IIIC and China. This, he argues, is justifiable not only because it represents the first example of intellectual cooperation of any size between European experts and a Far Eastern country, but also because the helpful recommendations made at that time relating to the reorganization of the Chinese school system might still be of some utility for the emergent countries of Asia and Africa. In his final comments the author reviews, in broad strokes, both the principal similarities and the differences between the IIIC and UNESCO. He concludes that the obstacles which UNESCO has to overcome in order to develop better relations among the peoples of the world in the fields of science, education, and culture are much the same as those which paralyzed the work of the IIIC. Although the IIIC did some things very well, its limited activities remained largely academic. It reached only a small number of intellectual leaders and developed no direct relations with the masses of the people. Moreover, it became enmeshed in the political crosscurrents of the interwar years, and its program suffered accordingly. But its biggest difficulties were financial ones. It barely had sufficient financial support to exist, without the possibility of embarking on new projects regardless of how meritorious they might have been. In spite of many obstacles, the IIIC did some very useful work. Like many other

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organizations, it succeeded in a measure proportionate to the means placed at its disposal. In any event, it served as an interesting forerunner to UNESCO, whose supporters should continue to derive some helpful lessons from its short and checkered career. Although several serious studies have already been published about the IIIC, they are, for the most part, either dated or cover only limited aspects of the subject. This book is designed to fill that gap. On the whole it is well written, carefully documented, and should serve as a useful supplement to materials already available.

Washington, D. C. FRANCIS O. WILCOX

Ancient and Medieval

DEUTSCHE KÖNIGSPFALZEN: BEITRÄGE ZU IHRER HISTORISCHEN UND ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN ERFORSCHUNG. Volume I. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 11, Part 1.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1963. Pp. x, 206. DM 30.) This volume, appropriately presented to Percy E. Schramm on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday, contains a varied assortment of studies on *palatia* (=*Pfalzen*). As H. Heimpel indicates in the foreword, two of the contributions treat general questions relating to *palatia*—"*Palatia* and Forests" (K. Bosl) and "Zoos in the Context of *Palatia*" (K. Hauck); one deals with the problem of royal possessions—"Werla and Goslar" (W. Berges); one is on considerations in respect of a single *palatium*—"Bodman" (Th. Mayer); one is a working over of a *palatium* along the lines contemplated for a proposed catalogue of *Pfalzen*—"Merseburg" (W. Schlesinger); and one is a valuable by-product of long delay in publication —"Observations on *Palatia:* Research on the Middle Rhine" (P. Classen). All were published with the expectation that they will elicit constructive criticism and modification. For here is a fascinating, relatively new problem for medieval history and archaeology, which seems to have arisen first some thirty years ago (see *Das Hauptstadt Problem in der Geschichte* [1952]) and which seems now to be gaining momentum (for example, E. Ewig, "Résidence et capitale pendant le haut Moyen Âge," *Revue historique,* LXXXVII [July–Sept. 1963], 25–72). It was early determined to commence investigations with the northern German sites of *palatia,* "in part those known to be initially Carolingian and blossoming into royal sites during Ottonian and Salian times and persisting only to a small degree into the Hohenstaufen period." Related questions are whether "they originated from Roman soil on the Rhine, whether they became royal administrative centers during Frankish times, and whether they can be alleged for royalty during the whole of the High Middle Ages—in part even beyond Hohenstaufen times" (Classen's contribution). Classen asks questions that at least suggest the kinds of problems confronted by many of the contributors: on Carolingian winter residences (*palatia*), especially with the help of data from royal itineraries and official documents; on the expression *civitas publica* for Worms and elsewhere; on the *Pfalz* Neuhausen near Worms; on the actual site of the *Pfalz* Worms; on *palatia episcopalia* as royal fiefs; and, finally, on research tasks concerning Ingelheim. Classen modestly stresses that it may be a long time before definitive results can be gained from this kind of inquiry. It becomes apparent after reading this book, however, that the term *Pfalz* (=*palatium*) will doubtless never be completely delimited any more than such terms as fief, manor, burg, town, or barony. It is equally plain that a good start has been made here toward better understanding of methods to be used in further studies. Indeed, the studies in this book will prove indispensable to all who are interested in history and archaeology from Roman times to A.D. 1270.

University of Pittsburgh GEORGE B. FOWLER

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BORDEAUX PENDANT LE HAUT MOYEN ÂGE. By *Charles Higounet* with the collaboration of *J. Gardelles* and *J. Lafaurie*. [Histoire de Bordeaux, Volume II.] (Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest. 1963. Pp. 338.) This volume stands second in a general series on the history of Bordeaux under the editorship of Charles Higounet. By *haut moyen âge* the author means from the fifth to the middle of the twelfth century, certainly the leanest period in the history of Bordeaux. Higounet approaches his subject topically. He chronicles the political domination of Bordeaux by outsiders such as the Visigoths, the Frankish Merovingians and Carolingians, Viking intruders, and the dukes of Gascony and Aquitaine. The church of the region is depicted as immune, by and large, from the main currents of contemporary Christendom. In a section on art, J. Gardelles discusses the churches of Saint-Seurin, Sainte-Croix, and Saint-André and the few remains of sculpture from the period. Finally, society and economy are depicted in a state of stagnation. There was no pressure to expand the second-century walls of the city, and signs of commercial activity were rare. Even wine production was barely beginning to stir in the immediate surroundings of Bordeaux. From these pages one has the distinct impression that Bordeaux was in a veritable backwash of France and that it was the union with the Plantagenets in 1154 that infused vitality into the region. To this barren terrain Higounet has brought every conceivable tool of historical science. Even the remotest document or literary allusion is scrutinized for possible information; the findings of the archaeologist and art historian are fully explored. Evidence from numismatics (supplied by J. LaFaurie) and especially from onomastics plays an important role in his conclusions. Topography is intensively surveyed, and numerous maps display the interrelationships of the region. All of the intensive research has been presented in an attractive format abundantly garnished with excellent diagrams and photographs, a loving expression of civic piety to an obscure past.

Johns Hopkins University JOHN W. BALDWIN

SUTTON HOO: THE EXCAVATION OF A ROYAL SHIP-BURIAL. By *Charles Green*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1963. Pp. 168. $7.00.) The excavation of the royal ship at Sutton Hoo, England, in 1938, ranks as one of the most spectacular recent archaeological finds, both because of the precious objects uncovered and because of the knowledge it gave of the Anglo-Saxon settlement. This discovery did not receive the attention it merited at the time because the press was preoccupied with the international crises of the late 1930's. Charles Green tries to remedy this with his book, in which he gives a full account of the Sutton Hoo ship burial, its discovery and excavation, and a description of the goods found in the burial chamber. In addition, Green considers the ship construction of the early English; from the nature of their vessels, he draws some conclusions about their routes and settlement patterns. Green states that he is not writing for the specialist, but for the layman interested in archaeology, both its findings and its methods. He may have failed in this, for he is not a writer with the gift of converting the record of a scientific project into a "mystery thriller." His work is most valuable for bringing together in a single volume information about Sutton Hoo that had been scattered through a number of archaeological and antiquarian journals. Scholars will be grateful to him for this and for his bibliography, but they will regret his omission of footnotes.

Florida State University RALPH V. TURNER

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE IN THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE. By *Richard E. Sullivan*. [The Centers of Civilization Series, Number 10.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 226. $2.75.) This little book is designed as an interpretation of

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Carolingian civilization for the general reader. For the Christian side of that civilization, in the tradition of Dawson and Toynbee, it serves admirably. Professor Sullivan writes with authority of the intellectual and religious elite he knows so well. But it must be said that the reader will find little here of the ideas and values of the lay nobility, of their love of honor and of war, of personal loyalty and freedom. One might construct an interpretation of Frankish culture quite contrary to this one, but little more one-sided, by emphasizing Charlemagne's military rather than his peaceful activities. The warriors did not write, and they are hard to know. All the same, the civilization of which Aix was the center for so short a time, was not carried by churchmen alone. How else could the future contain feudalism, chivalry, even the crusades?

University of Connecticut FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

TOLEDOT MAMLEKHET HA-TSALBANIM BE-'ERETS-YISRA'EL [A History of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem]. Volume I, MASAE'-HA-TSELAV VEHA-MAMLAKHAH HA-RISHONAH [The Crusades and the First Kingdom]. By *Joshua Prawer*. (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute. 1963. Pp. 561.) The historian with a passion for disinterestedness and a broad sociological approach will welcome the first volume of Professor Prawer's history of the crusades. Taking the reader from the end of the tenth century through the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, it trenchantly analyzes the social, political, and economic factors that inspired ideologies, moved armies, and built kingdoms. Prawer does not deny the motive power of charisma and sincere idealism, but recognizes that these are understandable only in a context that exposes as well the self-interest and political machinations of the ubiquitous wordly-minded. His approach thus joins those that dissipate the aureole of many crusaders. Yet it has the merits of strict impartiality and the ability to make the reader empathize with the needs and positions of the men who participated in the crusades. Prawer's reconstruction of the real positions of the numerous Christian groups as well as those of the Moslems and Jews involved makes for a well-balanced, consistent, and credible account. The culmination of a quarter century of research and scholarly creativity in the field, Prawer's work manifests a command of all sources and the latest techniques for their analysis. It is especially valuable for its comprehensive treatment of the crusaders' kingdoms, which occupies more than a third of the volume, and its brilliant analysis, on the basis of the often neglected Hebrew texts, of the effect of the crusades on the Jews, particularly those of the Holy Land. Surprisingly, the volume lacks notes at the ends of the chapters. The spare references at the foot of the pages to highways and bypaths in the literature represent only a segment of the vast material Prawer utilized. The reader therefore finds it difficult to assess the author's approach on many pivotal issues or to be satisfied that he has adequately discharged his obligation to the secondary literature. It is hoped that the second volume will contain not only the promised bibliography but an adequate array of notes. Despite this mechanical and easily corrigible shortcoming, Prawer's work promises to be a major contribution to scholarship. Scholars not conversant with Hebrew deserve an immediate translation. Those comfortable with Hebrew will find it a joy to read. It is written in a clear, captivating style, judiciously supplied with maps and illustrations and printed with the canons of excellence and good taste that have made the *Mosad Bialik* famous.

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion MARTIN A. COHEN

THE RUNES OF SWEDEN. By *Sven B. F. Jansson*. Translated by *Peter G. Foote*. (New York: Bedminster Press. 1962. Pp. 165. $5.50.) The oldest known runic inscriptions in Sweden come from the end of the third century; the youngest are as late as the seventeenth century. There are more than three thousand of these inscriptions, almost

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four times as many as from the rest of the Germanic world. Most of them originate in the eleventh century. It is helpful that such an important topic now can be approached in English, and no better authority can be found than Mr. Jansson, who is professor of runology at the Royal Academy in Stockholm. His book, however, is only an introduction. He treats his material as a historian, not as a linguist, and relates what historical information the runic stones give us about the Viking Age. Most of the stones were raised as memorials to warriors fallen abroad and are an important source for the history of the raids. Others mention such things as the building of bridges and roads and the conversion to Christianity, in this manner giving us valuable insights into Viking society at home. There is nothing new in this for the informed reader, and the novice, for whom the book is designed, will be puzzled by the many transliterations. The book is beautifully illustrated.

Baltimore, Maryland JENNY M. JOCHENS

THE ENGLISH CHURCH, 1000–1066: A CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. By *Frank Barlow*. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1963. Pp. xii, 324. $12.00.) Among several studies of Anglo-Saxon history that have appeared recently is this excellent monograph by Professor Barlow of the University of Exeter. The paucity of contemporary sources obliges the author to concentrate on the reigns of Canute and Edward the Confessor when the evidence is somewhat more substantial, although one may assume that the analyses he presents are generally valid for the last century of Anglo-Saxon history. And these interpretations, despite the title, *The English Church,* are as indispensable to an understanding of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy as of ecclesiastical matters. For the office of the English king then possessed a strong ecclesiastical color: some of the king's ancestors had been saints; some of his enemies had been pagans; his own royal authority had come by way of a sacramental coronation which left him grave responsibilities, foremost, that of caring for God's Church. In the eleventh century the Anglo-Saxon king combined in his own person surely the *de facto* and, for practical purposes, the *de jure* headship of both Church and state. "It was, indeed, the successful joining of the secular and ecclesiastical structures which gave to the English monarchy its remarkable strength and prestige." Bishops were the king's appointees, the royal business as much their province as that of the Church. Both bishop and earl presided over the shire court which gave judgment in religious matters as readily as civil. Ecclesiastical canons were issued in the form of royal laws, and royal officials and censors enforced ecclesiastical regulations (including taxation). This close association of Church and state proved beneficial to both institutions however vigorously the Gregorian papacy would attack the principle of royal leadership upon which it was established. Against this backdrop of royal control the author considers in some detail the geographical organization of the Church, ecclesiastical government, jurisdiction, economy, the education of the clergy, and papal relations. The general reader may find the book difficult; for the student of Anglo-Saxon history it is of value.

Pennsylvania State University JOSEPH H. DAHMUS

THE HISTORY OF THE ABBEY OF ABERCONWAY, 1186–1537. By *Rhŷs W. Hays*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 210. 30*s*.) This study of the Cistercian abbey of Aberconway, perhaps Wales's most influential monastery, adds a significant page to our growing knowledge of Welsh monasticism. Dr. Hays traces the history of the abbey from its foundation in the late twelfth century to its dissolution in 1537. So Welsh was the abbey—Llywelyn the Great was its "effective founder," and six Welsh princes were buried there—that when Edward I conquered the land a certain indefinable vigor appears to have gone out of the institution. The author discusses the abbey's

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holdings, its rights, privileges, incomes, and expenditures, its many disputes with its neighbors, the impact of war and rebellion, the trend from sheep raising by lay brothers to grain production by tenants, and the abbey's contribution. What gaps remain in the story are owing principally to gaps in the scanty evidence, and no censure attaches to the author. He does draw censure, however, for the manner in which he generalizes about the deterioration of the abbey's moral life, which he cannot establish for lack of evidence since the records pertaining to the abbey concern almost nothing but property. But he does make it clear that the Cistercian abbey was suited to undeveloped country and that its monastic life was apt to suffer from contact with the civilization that its reclamation of land from thicket and marsh had made possible. The author grants the abbey little in the way of a tangible contribution, and the reader is scarcely ready for the book's concluding statement that "the dissolution of Aberconway was a loss, not only to the Cistercian Order, but to Wales, and indeed, to humanity."

Pennsylvania State University JOSEPH H. DAHMUS

THE HISTORY OF THE KING'S WORKS. Volumes I and II, THE MIDDLE AGES. With case of plans. By *R. Allen Brown et al.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1963. Pp. xxvii, 552, plates 1–36; xiv, 553–1139, plates 37–52. $50.40.) In the short space available it would be impossible even to catalogue the merits of this work which very nearly deserves the designation "monumental." It would be equally impossible to list the areas in which scholars will find it a mine of information. Even the most cursory glance at the pages of *The History of the King's Works* will explain why it has been several years in preparation. The team of scholarly experts under the general direction of H. M. Colvin has exhausted all possible sources, both documentary and archaeological, in what must be regarded as a highly successful attempt to discover all buildings that the king held or to whose construction and maintenance he contributed financially at any time to 1485. Thus these volumes will interest students of military, ecclesiastical, and civil architectural history, as well as those whose major concerns are in economics and finance. The plan of the work contributes materially to its usefulness. Volume I is devoted largely to a chronological survey of the king's works in England, Wales, and Scotland, and to those in Normandy for the period 1415–1449. Separate chapters are given to Calais and to the palace at Westminster. The second volume contains a historical account of each of the known royal castles and dwellings listed in alphabetical order under the headings "The Royal Castles 1066–1485" and "The King's Houses 1066–1485." These accounts are not entirely satisfactory for they deal with each edifice only for those periods during which it was in the hands of the crown, but to have given the complete history of each structure would undoubtedly have added substantially to the cost of the set and to the time involved in its preparation. There are also several useful appendixes. It would be an understatement to say that the volumes have been handsomely prepared. The text is clear and readable; the plans and diagrams are admirably done; and four large-scale plans housed in a separate case are models of clarity. They can be pored over for hours with delight and profit. While the price is such as to discourage the average buyer, no library can afford to be without this set which is sure to become an indispensable reference tool for all students of the English Middle Ages.

University of North Carolina, Greensboro JOHN BEELER

ENGLISCHE STAATSTHEORIE DES 13. JAHRHUNDERTS: HENRY DE BRACTON UND SEIN WERK. By *Wiebke Fesefeldt.* [Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Number 33.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag. 1962. Pp. 158. DM 24.80.) This monograph is concerned with several aspects of the political thought of

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Bracton, including a more thorough investigation of some problems that have particularly interested P. E. Schramm and F. Schulz. The work consists of four closely related essays: The first deals with the political structure of the thirteenth-century state (in England), with special reference to royal authority or control over secular jurisdiction. The second is an analysis of the concept of "sovereignty" (*der Herrschaftsbegriff*), in which the author considers and rejects the distinction McIlwain drew, from Bracton's text, between the notion of *gubernaculum* and *jurisdictio,* arguing that the modern theory of "reason of state" may already be discerned in thirteenth-century discussions of the nature of royal authority, as exemplified by Bracton. The third and fourth essays are more technical analyses of the text of Bracton as it bears on or reveals the influence of Roman and canon law on both political and, more specifically, juridical notions. Much of this is old ground once more surveyed, and there is a convenient summary of the "Bractonian problem." The discussion of the influence of John of Salisbury on Bracton, and of the parallels between Bracton and Thomas Aquinas, in the second chapter is of particular interest and value. Even for so short a monograph it is unfortunate that no index is provided, and there is approximately a four-year gap between the most recent work listed in either footnotes or bibliography and the date of publication of this study.

University of Minnesota ROBERT S. HOYT

LA NAISSANCE DE L'ESPRIT LAÏQUE AU DÉCLIN DU MOYEN ÂGE. Volume V, GUILLAUME D'OCKHAM: STRUCTURES ECCLÉSIALES. By *Georges de Lagarde.* (New ed.; Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts. 1963. Pp. xii, 345. 330 fr. B.) In Volume IV of *La naissance de l'esprit laïque* M. de Lagarde presented the ideas of Ockham on the relations of Church and state. This volume, the final one of the second edition, deals with Ockham's theories on the organization or structure of the Church. Like the preceding volume it is almost a new book rather than a revision. The richness of the author's learning and his interpretation of Ockham cannot be described in this brief notice. In general, according to Lagarde's careful reading of the texts, Ockham held that the Church was the whole community of the faithful. Yet, despite his nominalism, Ockham attributed sovereignty in the Church not to the "people," that is, the laity and the clergy, but to Holy Writ and reason. But who was to use reason and interpret the faith correctly and enforce orthodoxy? Against Marsiglio's confidence in the authority of Scripture by itself, and his refusal to give any authority to the pope, Ockham accepted the tradition that the pope and general council did have, at least normally, the right to command acceptance of the faith. Since, however, pope and council could err, sometimes lay princes were superior in authority as representatives of the community of the faithful. Indeed, normally or regularly the secular state was above the Church. The lay ruler could depose an erring pope, and, in cases of the necessity of the defense of the state, bishops and other clergy must obey prince or king rather than the pope. In relation to the natural needs of the community, Ockham accepted any authority (even that of the pope if necessary) that could defend the faith and the common good of the faithful and of the Church. No critical comment is possible here. One question, however, is this: why does Ockham belong to the secular or "lay" spirit of the Middle Ages? Even his acceptance of the state is supported by Biblical and religious considerations. His interpretations may be wrong, but it is doubtful that he felt that his *esprit* was secular.

University of Wisconsin GAINES POST

LE DOMAINE ROYAL EN GÂTINAIS D'APRÈS LA PRISÉE DE 1332. By *Guy Fourquin.* [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI[e] Section. Centre de Recherches his-

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toriques. Les hommes et la terre, Volume VII.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1963. Pp. 393.) In 1332 Philip VI planned to assign as dowry to Queen Jeanne a portion of the royal domain that would return a net annual income of 25,000 Lb.t. Thirteen administrative districts and a number of forests were designated in a region between Orléans, Sens, and Corbeil, with the Gâtinais at its heart. To see whether the assignment would actually produce that income, royal officers, in a seven-week tour, made a detailed inventory of all the revenues pertaining to the assigned domain: not only those handled by the *prévôtés* (rents, taxes on commerce, proceeds of justice, and so forth) and coming from inhabited areas directly under royal jurisdiction, but also certain types of income from feudal rights and from churches under royal protection. The edited text (with inventory of the forests omitted) runs to 180 pages. In an excellent commentary Fourquin brings out the importance of the material for other interests than those of the Queen (who did not live to enjoy her dowry). Could we use a map of at least some districts, shaped like puzzle pieces, of the elusive royal domain? Fourquin has enough material to attempt it, with due caution. Would students of the laconic remnants of royal accounts like to see the precise character of revenues lumped together in the return of a *prévôté*? The analysis will show not only the categories but, for the greater advantage of social and economic historians, the relative proportion of income from each category for each of a representative group of *prévôtés:* as in one instance, profits from justice amounted to 40 per cent of the total returns, while the old *cens* came to only 3 per cent. The returns from feudal rights and churches give valuable clues on the number and size of feudal holdings, and the income of Church properties. Finally, this is a text of first importance for anyone trying to understand better what "domain" means and to get at grass-roots administration in the fourteenth century. Perhaps more maps, including some of smaller districts, might have been attempted, and we may wish that a few representative sections of the forest inventories had been included. Their analysis shows that the forest contributed nine thousand pounds to the assigned dowry. This work illuminates the fundamental mechanisms of social organization.

Harvard University CHARLES H. TAYLOR

GERARD GROOTE, ASCETIC AND REFORMER (1340–1384). By *Theodore P. van Zijl, S.V.D.* [The Catholic University of America, Studies in Mediaeval History, New Series, Volume XVIII.] (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1963. Pp. x, 377. $6.00.) This book is a result of the thorough research expected from the direction of Father Aloysius K. Ziegler. After a critical estimate of the sources for a biography of Groote other than his own writings, there is a re-creation of the subject's early life and training. It covers thirty-four years of his life, giving an intimate picture of learning and everyday activities in the fourteenth century. From being a wealthy, patrician dandy, Groote became an ascetic. In 1380, with only four years remaining in his life, Groote was ordained deacon with authority to preach. His earliest efforts were directed toward the laity. Later he turned to reform, first of monasticism, then of the secular clergy. Relating to the former, he organized communities of Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life, protagonists of the renowned *Devotio Moderna.* In the latter he encountered enough opposition to have his faculty of preaching withdrawn. An appeal to the pope was successful, but he died before he knew the result. Groote's deep devotion to learning was destined to bear outstanding fruit, and his translation of portions of the liturgy into the vernacular would be fully vindicated in this century. Groote's enemies were the sect of the Free Spirit, the mendicants, and the seculars, but he had support in the highest places during most of his mission. Often guilty of exaggeration and of sharpness in reproach, he came uneasily close to the Donatist

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heresy. He seems not to have been as distressed by the Great Schism as by internal matters. Indeed, he insisted that it was not a real schism, but a doubt about the rightful occupant of the papal throne, and he expressed belief that even a lawful pope would be schismatic to condemn half of the faithful. The dissertation concludes with a chronology and an excellent bibliography. A number of minute typographical errors do not seriously mar the book.

University of Mississippi ALLEN CABANISS

Modern

UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND

GUIDE TO THE CONTENTS OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Volume I, LEGAL RECORDS, ETC.; Volume II, STATE PAPERS AND DEPARTMENTAL RECORDS. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1963. Pp. vi, 249; vii, 410. $6.50 postpaid; $13.50 postpaid.) The Public Record Office in Chancery Lane came into being by an act of 1838, and the present building was begun in 1851. The following year an order in council placed most of all crown papers under the Master of the Rolls, on whose estate the repository was rising. Since that date a steady accumulation of governmental papers has been opened for public inspection there. In 1954 a Committee on Departmental Records was set up and reported (*Cmd. 9163*) that changes in the system should be made, and these were incorporated in the act of 1958 which came into effect on January 1, 1959. Under the new arrangements most of the records are screened before they reach the PRO, and what is considered of no value is discarded. Unfortunately, as historians rove further afield intellectually, this sometimes means that materials they would very much like to see have already been destroyed. However, the PRO itself is always interested in hearing of such cases in order to do what it can to remedy this state of affairs. The new *Guide* is the sixth to be produced and replaces M. S. Giuseppi's of 1923–1924. It is a much-revised and condensed version which nevertheless contains a great deal of interest simply as a reference work apart from the multitude of basic source material listings. The first volume deals with legal records generally having their origins in the days before Henry VIII. It includes a short history of each office, a glossary of technical terms, and a table of the regnal years and indexes. Volume II covers State Papers from the days of Henry VIII and all the modern departments and ministries whose short histories are rarely easily discovered. It is, however, to be regretted that these useful biographies are most uneven, that for the Air Ministry, for instance, being brought up to date while that for the Admiralty runs only to 1835. A perusal of the listings for various ministries may well suggest topics for future investigation, while the work in general stands as a guide to English historiography, since no papers of the Scottish Office and its allies are within the purview of the Keeper. Of particular interest is the fact that the papers and drafts used by official historians are now at the PRO, together with the records of the Committee of Imperial Defence, which, though noted in the section "Cabinet Office," were transferred too late for inclusion among the listings in the *Guide*. This careful work is obviously one that no serious university library can afford to omit.

Kansas State University ROBIN HIGHAM

CATALOGUE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF BALLIOL COLLEGE OXFORD. Compiled by *R. A. B. Mynors*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. lvii, 401.

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$20.20.) The manuscript collections of the Oxford colleges have remained for the most part without modern catalogues of the kind that M. R. James, at Cambridge, established as the ideal. In this catalogue of the Balliol College MSS, Mr. Mynors takes a big step toward overcoming this handicap. He at least equals James in the fullness and detail of his descriptions and outdoes him in the thoroughness of his notes on scribes, hands, decorations, related MSS, printed texts, pertinent monographs, and provenance. The collection itself is of special interest because 180 of the MSS (about half of those written before 1500) were the gift of a single donor—William Gray (or Grey), bishop of Ely (d. 1478), a grandson of Ralph Neville, first earl of Westmorland, and a half brother of Cicely, duchess of York, and of Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham. Gray began buying MSS soon after he entered Balliol College about 1431. He was appointed chancellor of the university about 1440, and not much later he was employing two scribes, Nicholas Saxton and Richard Bole, who accompanied him to Cologne in 1442 and later to Florence, where Gray went to pursue humanistic studies. Thence, after protracted stops at Padua (where he became doctor of divinity) and Ferrara, he proceeded to Rome. There he received a commission as the king's proctor at the Roman *curia,* a position in which he found it expedient to maintain an agent in London through whom private men could enlist his help. Mynors' account of Gray's life and especially of his steady acquisition of MSS by purchase and by commission forms a valuable part of his excellent introduction. Gray's collection, which in due course he gave to Balliol College, was strong in theology and philosophy and contained valuable humanistic productions, such as a five-volume set of Cicero that he ordered from Vespasiano.

Folger Shakespeare Library GILES E. DAWSON

PROVINCIAL ENGLAND: ESSAYS IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY. By *W. G. Hoskins.* (New York: St Martin's Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 236. $8.50.) It is fascinating to watch Mr. Hoskins employ a startling variety of evidence to bring provincial England's past to life again. He is one exception to his own observation that "historians, unlike archaeologists, have yet to learn to look over hedges and to treat visual evidence as of equal value to documentary." Not only does he make felicitous use of so dreary a document as the tax assessment, "that sad passport to immortality," but he bases intriguing conclusions upon data derived from place names, geology, archaeology, architecture, furniture, and photography. He ranges from the Saxons to the nineteenth century, but seven of the eleven essays deal principally with Leicestershire in Tudor and Stuart times. The subject matter is nevertheless as varied as the evidence. Population estimates of sheep and men, town development, the domestic life of the middle and lower classes, the fortunes of commercial families, the sites of deserted villages and pagan revels are but a few of the topics that Hoskins' pen enlivens. He is cautious with his evidence, but he always draws it to a conclusion, often a bold one. The medieval wool trade, he avers, "was fully established in probably all the regions where sheep were destined to be important at all as early as the tenth century." The problem of poverty under the later Tudors "was above all an urban problem, and it had little or nothing to do with the dissolution of the monasteries and the end of monastic alms-giving." His detailed investigations show that it was rare for a family business to survive three generations, and so it was that English towns never developed a "merchant patrician class." Hoskins is a spiritual descendant of Lambarde and Carew in his "affectionate exploration" of provincial England, and he draws upon profound erudition and a bright historical imagination to re-create the sounds, smells, and humors of ages long gone by.

Yale University ARCHIBALD S. FOORD

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ERASMUS AND CAMBRIDGE: THE CAMBRIDGE LETTERS OF ERASMUS. Translated by *D. F. S. Thomson.* Introduction, Commentary, and Notes by *H. C. Porter.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1963. Pp. x, 233. $6.50.) Erasmus spent much of his time between August 1511 and January 1514 at Cambridge University. They were fruitful years. He taught Greek and lectured on theology; wrote textbooks; translated from Basil, Plutarch, and Lucian; worked on his monumental editions of St. Jerome's *Letters* and the Greek New Testament. Piqued by the description of Erasmus as an Oxford reformer, Mr. D. F. S. Thomson of Toronto and Mr. H. C. Porter of Cambridge have entertainingly, and properly, redressed the balance in this study of Erasmus' Cambridge letters. Thomson has colloquially translated the thirty-one familiar letters Erasmus wrote from Cambridge, some of the letters he received, and extracts from later letters concerning Cambridge. Porter contributes copious notes, an introduction filled with picturesque detail (he solves, for example, "the much misunderstood question of Erasmus' aversion to the Cambridge beer"), and a biographical register of persons with whom Erasmus was in touch during his Cambridge years. The result is a graceful rewriting of an important chapter in Erasmus' life. Specialists will find little novelty of fact or interpretation. The Erasmus material is familiar; most of it was already available in the adequate translations of Nichols. And there are curious gaps. Why have the prefatory epistles to Fisher, Wolsey, and Henry VIII been omitted? They were probably written in Cambridge and document the scholarly work Erasmus did there. The grounds for including letters Erasmus received are not made clear. Why include a letter from Fisher, but omit the letter from Warham (Allen, III, xxxi)? Professor Ferguson has suggested that the *Julius Exclusus* was "probably written in 1513 or 1514 after the death of the Pope, and during the author's stay at Cambridge" (*Erasmi Opuscula,* 41). Although Porter has something to say about Julius II, he does not mention Erasmus' important dialogue. Provincial pietas has focused the inquiry too exclusively on Cambridge; it is to the history of town and university rather than to Erasmus studies that it makes its most valuable contributions.

Cornell University EUGENE F. RICE, JR.

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF ST. THOMAS MORE. Volume II, THE HISTORY OF KING RICHARD III. Edited by *Richard S. Sylvester.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1963. Pp. cvi, 312. $12.50.) The textual problems of More's *Richard III* are only a little less puzzling than the historical problems of Richard's character. More shaped the legend of Richard III as much by skillfully presenting facts as by inventing speeches or construing motives. A scholarly edition of *Richard III,* with a thorough discussion of "its text, sources, models, and analogues, as well as its literary and historical value" has long been needed. Richard Sylvester has now provided scholars with a superlatively edited text and a learned, fascinating, readable introduction. Even those who may quarrel with some of Sylvester's conclusions will use this edition with pleasure and profit. The notes are exceptionally full and informative; the uncluttered glossary is useful; the introduction offers a whole series of new arguments and persuasive interpretations. The text itself, while noting variant readings, reproduces on facing pages the best English and Latin versions of *Richard III,* as well as the complete text of the crucial Arundel Manuscript, printed here for the first time. A short review can only mention a few of the conclusions. Sylvester establishes "a genealogical 'tree,' indicating the relationships among the various versions of *Richard.*" He shows that More composed both the Latin and the English versions, probably simultaneously, from about 1514 to 1518, and that the composite *History-Historia* has few parallels in literature. The discussion of More's sources is most illuminating, as is the general estimate of the work as "a truly humanist history." This book is a definitive edition of *The History of*

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King Richard III. It makes an impressive and original contribution to our knowledge of More and of sixteenth-century historiography.

Reed College F. Smith Fussner

EDUCATION UNDER PENALTY: ENGLISH CATHOLIC EDUCATION FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FALL OF JAMES II, 1547–1689. By *A. C. F. Beales.* (London: University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1963. Pp. xii, 306. $8.00.) This valuable addition to the growing field of recusant studies describes the endeavor of the Catholics to provide Catholic education, lay and ecclesiastical, in the face of all the discouragements presented by English penal legislation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The degree to which this illegal education was possible is nothing short of astonishing. With travel abroad for all Catholics hampered, with special penalties laid against those conducting or sending children abroad for education, with legislation against the presence of priests in England, and with private tutors and unlicensed schoolmasters prohibited—the penalty for teaching without a license was raised in 1700 to life imprisonment—it would seem that Catholic education should have been effectively suppressed. But a constant traffic went on, with little boys going abroad for a decade or more, to study at the English colleges of St. Omer and Douai and to continue later with further work at the university level or with study for the priesthood; while at home, especially in the north and west, schools of lesser grade opened here and there, clandestinely or openly, temporarily or permanently, as the prejudices of the communities allowed—even at times right in London in the very shadow of the government. Enforcement of the education penal laws varied with the attitude of the crown as well as with the temper of the local authorities and the recurrence of anti-Catholic panic. Charles I and Charles II were lenient in enforcement, and James II, naturally, eagerly tried to promote Catholic education. The author regards these efforts as ultimately injurious to the King's coreligionists. The gradual development of the English colleges and seminaries in Flanders, Rome, and Spain is treated here in detail, with lists of masters and students and descriptions of courses of study. The author has also made a careful search to identify centers of Catholic education in England. The picture here, as Mr. Beale points out, is still shadowy and needs further investigation, but he has brought together enough material to substantiate fully the existence of a continuous movement culminating in a striking upsurge in the reign of James II. Parallel educational activities in Scotland and Ireland are sketched in an appendix, along with a helpful list of the separate penal laws affecting Catholic education. The material for this study is almost entirely based on published and unpublished original sources. As former chairman of the editorial board of the Catholic Record Society, Beale has been in an excellent position to be aware of what sources were available and to have ready access to them. His treatment of the subject is sympathetic but not partisan, and his writing is lucid and direct.

Madeira School Millicent Barton Rex

POLITICS AND THE PORT OF BRISTOL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE PETITIONS OF THE SOCIETY OF MERCHANT VENTURERS, 1698–1803. Edited by *W. E. Minchinton.* [Bristol Record Society's Publications, Volume XXIII.] (Bristol: the Society. 1963. Pp. xxxviii, 225. £2 2*s.*) Of all the record series published by local history societies in Great Britain, none is of greater general interest than the "Bristol Record Society's Publications." Because of the close connections of Bristol with America, this series is particularly rich in material relating to America and should be in every university research library in this country. In the society's most recent volume Walter Minchinton publishes documents relating to the trade of Bristol in the eighteenth

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century, closely related to similar material in earlier volumes in the same series edited by him and Patrick McGrath. The present volume is a collection of petitions sent by the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol to Parliament, the crown, and various government agencies. Through these petitions, we watch the society change from an aggressive, dynamic force early in the century, challenging the monopoly of the Royal African Company, defending the unrestricted importation of Irish yarn, calling for the free entry of pig and bar iron from America, into a conservative society by the 1780's, fearful of the abolition of the slave trade or of the liberalization of commerce with Ireland, overly anxious to protest its loyalty in times of revolution, but ineffectual in getting the canals or docking facilities the port needed. In this we sense the slipping of Bristol from the first rank of provincial ports. Students of American colonial history will find documents here explaining Bristol's position on the sugar, tobacco, and iron trades, colonial debts, the slave trade, the Spanish depredations, the free port system in the West Indies, vice-admiralty courts, and so forth. Aside from a few typographical errors, Minchinton has done an excellent job in tracing his documents and editing them for publication.

University of Michigan JACOB M. PRICE

THE POLITICS OF DRAMA IN AUGUSTAN ENGLAND. By *John Loftis*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. 173. $4.80.) In Walpole's day, as at some other times, the drama was much more than literature and play-acting. It was political propaganda and a struggle for even more freedom than a largely passive government allowed. The uninhibited abuse heaped on the Prime Minister (such as "Sir Politik Ribband") and the revolting extremes of coarseness that prevailed only provoke a feeling of astonishment that the licensing act of 1737 did not come sooner. The author conducts the reader on an entertaining tour in which everything is seen reflected in a series of distorting mirrors. The guide knows the subject thoroughly, not only the literature but the politics. He keeps everything in perspective, intricate though it is, and does not invite the reader to think that the plays (many of them published only for propaganda rather than for action) necessarily represented reality. At the end one cannot help thinking all the posturing and declamation against "corruption" may have helped prepare public opinion for later reform movements.

Brown University CHESTER H. KIRBY

THE IRISH IN BRITAIN. By *John Archer Jackson*. (Cleveland, Ohio: Press of Western Reserve University. 1963. Pp. xvi, 208. $5.00.) Useful to students of modern British history chiefly because it brings together a vast amount of statistical and factual information about the contributions the Irish have made to British life during the past two hundred years, this book will also be welcome as an adventure in sociological history—a genre that has a fair number of exponents in the United States but pitifully few in Britain, where sociology is still highly suspect. On the whole, Mr. Jackson is balanced and fair-minded in his treatment of Irish themes, and this is no insignificant feat, as anyone familiar with Anglo-Irish historical literature will testify. Nevertheless, his book is not the major work that the role of the Irish in modern British history deserves and will doubtless inspire one of these years. His chief weakness is an insufficiently developed critical sense. He tends to take statements as true simply because people made them, and he tends to assume that the quotations he presents from original sources are necessarily true because they derive from original sources. His other main weakness is an imprecision that borders at times on outright inaccuracy. It is to be hoped, therefore, that in the second edition, which his book merits, he will get rid of statements of this sort: that contemporary social events can be "fully" understood; that there are few

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primary sources dealing with the Irish in Britain; that tuberculosis probably caused one-sixth of all deaths in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England; that there ever could be material to indicate what proportion of Irish girls turned to prostitution in Britain; that the religion of Irish immigrants has been undermined to the extent that he implies; and that Cardinal Manning was as successful a reformer as he suggests. It is to be hoped, too, that the author will examine in some systematic way the impact of British schools on Irish immigrants and that he will expand considerably his treatment of the vital theme of stereotypes of the Irish in modern British history.

Columbia University HERMAN AUSUBEL

THE REGENCY CRISIS AND THE WHIGS, 1788–9. By *John W. Derry*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 244. $5.50.) The insanity of George III during the winter of 1788–1789 posed an interesting set of problems. There were the constitutional complexities for which no provision existed, and there were the loaves and fishes for which so many yearned. On one side stood the tragic shadow king and his political creation, Pitt; on the other lounged the greasy Prince, with Fox, Sheridan, Grey, and Burke panting for scraps of office after the long, lean years. Plot and denouement are well known, and inevitably it is Pitt who wins by proceeding to unwhig the gentlemen. Derry's monograph is based upon the standard sources supplemented by Fox, Grey, and Auckland papers. He produces no revisionary arguments, but analyzes each phase of the affair meticulously: Pitt's initial uncertainty relieved by Fox's fatal error of December 10, when the man of the people declared for the prerogative of the Prince; the exhausting debates over hereditary right and restriction of the regent's powers; the divided counsels of an opposition split between callous Foxite opportunism and Burkean idealism which bordered upon madness. "The very nature of the Whig party prevented it from playing any constructive part. . . . It lacked unity; it had no ideas; it was deficient in patronage. . . ." This was enough, given Dr. Willis' sensible treatment of his royal patient, to assure an outcome that the nation cheered. The regency crisis was "the first stage in the disintegration of the old Whig party"; therefore Derry emphasizes the squabbles over places and gives special attention to Burke's views which are found to be consistent with those that later devastated the party. Further analysis of parliamentary divisions might have been interesting, but must have led directly back to Pitt, who knew well the strength of a defensive position that forced the opposition to attack and open a line for the ministerial riposte. Whig apologists may endlessly rue that day, but scholars will probably agree that Derry has said the last useful word on the subject.

Auburn University ROBERT R. REA

PENINSULAR PORTRAIT, 1811–1814: THE LETTERS OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM BRAGGE, THIRD (KING'S OWN) DRAGOONS. Edited by *S. A. C. Cassels*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 167. $5.60.) Although many letters from peninsular soldiers have been printed, this collection ranks high in general interest and in the information it presents on Wellington's army. The tide had begun to turn against the French when Bragge arrived in Portugal, but he was engaged in two major battles, Salamanca and Vittoria, and in many skirmishes. Most of his service, however, was in "walking the enemy out of the country," and after being fired on by some Brunswick infantry he may have felt that there was more danger from the allies than the enemy. The general spirit of his letters is surprisingly cheerful. There are the usual complaints about lice and fleas, dysentery, inadequate quarters, and delay of mail. More serious was the bungling of his brigade commanders and the staff, which evoked Bragge's very frank criticism and which accords with Wellington's remark that the cavalry were ap-

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parently incapable of maneuvering except on Wimbledon Common. In Wellington, himself, however, Bragge had every confidence, though he was, like everyone else, totally ignorant of the commander's intentions. Shortly after arriving in the peninsula, Bragge heard some good advice from a veteran: "At all times, and in all places, live as well as you possibly can." He followed this to the letter and returned to England unscathed and with a very respectable "bay window." Bragge's letters were rediscovered in 1958 and have been skillfully edited. Seventeen illustrations and two good maps add to the value of the book.

Vanderbilt University P. H. HARDACRE

THE DIARIES AND CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES LOSH. Volume I, DIARY 1811–1823; Volume II, DIARY 1824–1833, LETTERS TO CHARLES, 2ND EARL GREY, AND HENRY BROUGHAM. Edited by *Edward Hughes.* [Publications of the Surtees Society, Volumes CLXXI and CLXXIV.] (Durham: Andrews and Company for the Society. 1962; 1963. Pp. xix, 194; ix, 254.) This revealing self-portrait of a successful Tyneside lawyer and businessman in his mature years, 1811–1833, gives the reader a curious sense of immersion in a past life. Losh emerges as a very human man—genuinely concerned about the illness of elderly relatives, and what their wills contain; a follower of Adam Smith, but a key figure in attempts to regulate the northern coal trade when he becomes part owner in a colliery; a reformer, contemptuous of the corruption of that "miserable debauchee," the Prince Regent, and his governments, but quite capable of utilizing his high connections to further the careers of his sons or legislation dealing with the railway of which he was a moving spirit. The diaries and letters have also a broader historical interest. To Losh's involvement in Northumberland politics, of particular value for his insider's view of parliamentary elections and the Reform Bill agitation, may be added his long association with Brougham, Lambton, and Gray, "in an age," as Professor Hughes writes, "when a remarkable galaxy of north-country men dominated the national scene." This Unitarian and moderate Whig accurately reflects the change in domestic policies after Castlereagh's death. From despair in 1821, he passes to an increasing optimism in the period of Liberal Toryism and lives to see the success of three movements to which he devoted much time, in the repeal of the disabilities of Dissenters, the Reform Bill, and the abolition of slavery. Historians of the period can sieve a considerable amount of social and economic plankton from Losh's account. Aside from his observations on the technological changes transforming England in these years, there are many tidbits. Long-distance coach drivers speak patronizingly of the "lower orders," as well they might, since they could earn two hundred to three hundred pounds a year. "Law business seems to be falling off everywhere," Losh writes in 1822, "whether owing to the good sense or the poverty (or both) of the public, I really do not know." The Lord Londonderry of the 1820's seems to have had as much sympathy for his coal miners' claims as did his descendant a century later. A friend of Wordsworth and Southey from their radical days, Losh all his life "fondly cherished hopes (hopes which have never been realized)" of distinguishing himself in some way by literary production. Thanks to the Surtees Society and the able editor of these volumes, he has at last gotten his wish.

Syracuse University A. R. SCHOYEN

MILL AND LIBERALISM. By *Maurice Cowling.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. xvii, 161. $5.00.) Continuing the pseudophilosophic attack on liberalism that he began in *The Nature and Limits of Political Science* (1963), Mr. Cowling here discovers in Mill's doctrine a "moral totalitarianism" based not on "proof" but on assertion, contradiction, wrong assumptions, and proselytizing tricks. No saint of rationalism,

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"Mill was . . . the ruthless denigrator of existing positions, the systematic propagator of a new moral posture, a man of sneers and smears and pervading certainty." Sneers and smears are everywhere evident, but in Cowling's prose rather than Mill's. Using a method that he finds objectionable in Mill's admirers, he treats Mill's writings, regardless of date or occasion, as a body of scripture from which to extract a sentence here, two sentences there, explaining what Mill meant "at another level" or what the "objective" critic can see behind the lines. The result is a considerable fabrication. But Cowling drops his pretense when, toward the end, he confesses that "the only thing to do to inquisitorial certainty of this sort [Mill's] is to be inquisitorial back," and that in the process of rejection "innuendo is as important as 'rational reasoning.'" His own inquisitorial certainty and innuendo are decidedly less attractive than those he seeks to "expose."

University of Illinois JACK STILLINGER

CHURCH AND STATE IN ENGLISH EDUCATION: 1870 TO THE PRESENT DAY. By *Marjorie Cruickshank*. Foreword by *R. A. Butler*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1963. Pp. xvi, 200. $8.00.) Marjorie Cruickshank has written an informative book which well may be the definitive statement on church and state in English education, 1870–1944. Her work will also be generally welcomed by students interested in institutional and social history, particularly those exploring the ideological dimensions of church and state relations, and possibly by Americans concerned with this issue. From an early date the churches were active in English education and, for some seventy years before the intervention of the state in 1870, operated schools without state aid. It is not strange, therefore, that the efforts of the state to secularize education were resisted by the churches. This was particularly so in the case of the Nonconformists, who favored religious education under a voluntary system, and the Anglicans and Roman Catholics, who supported denominational schools. This strife between shifting alignments of church interests and the state is ably traced, as are the changing attitudes of church groups. These conflicts and rapprochements are treated in excellent chapters on the establishment of the dual system, the School Board era of 1870–1902, the Act of 1902, the Liberal Bills of 1906–1908, and the Butler Act of 1944. Incidentally, the foreword is by the Right Honourable R. A. Butler. The author rightly emphasizes the ways in which religious attitudes conditioned English frames of reference, influenced ideological positions, and delayed the secularization of education. She discusses the consequences for the education issue of the influx of Irish immigrants into English cities and the almost constant intrusion of the fear of "Popery" into English politics. No doubt the reader will ask the question: if the fear of "Popery" delayed reform in English education, may it not have slowed down reform in other important areas of English political life? Cruickshank is to be congratulated for her fine objective study and for the soundness of her method.

State University of New York, Cortland GILBERT A. CAHILL

SOCIAL LEADERS AND PUBLIC PERSONS: A STUDY OF COUNTY GOVERNMENT IN CHESHIRE SINCE 1888. By *J. M. Lee*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 261. $8.00.) At the end of the last century some people hoped and others feared that, by itself, the final penetration of representative democracy into the English counties would produce a complete transformation in the personnel of county government. As Mr. Lee shows, however, when this transformation did occur in Cheshire, it occurred for other reasons entirely. Until well into the present century the men who took the largest part in local politics were still drawn from that composite group of landed and business leaders for whom public service was quasi-obligatory, a

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function of their local status. These are Lee's "social leaders." By the 1920's, however, some of them had left the county; others had destroyed the basis of their traditional status by becoming commuters; others were being deluged by urban overspills; and still others had ceased to be the spokesmen of a comprehensive agricultural interest because the agricultural interest was no longer comprehensive. But if Lee is right—and I think he is—the major factor in the disappearance of the "social leaders" was their inability to cope as government became more and more technical. Increasingly, their places were taken by "public persons," full-time paid officials and other men whose status depended primarily upon their specialized knowledge and activities. Drawing in particular upon local newspapers, the files of the Clerk's Department in County Hall, and the comments he overheard in the councilors' dining hall, Lee has shown how the "ministerialists"—the professionals—finally defeated the "country party"—the amateurs. He has written an important study of local government and has provided an essential historical basis for some of the recent sociological work on systems of local social status. His book will be required reading for all serious students of modern English society and politics.

University of California, Los Angeles D. C. Moore

ESSAYS IN IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT PRESENTED TO MARGERY PERHAM. [Edited by] *Kenneth Robinson* and *Frederick Madden*. (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell. 1963. Pp. viii, 293. 35*s*.) For almost forty years Margery Perham has been at the center of African studies at Oxford. Her retirement last year has occasioned a *Festschrift,* edited by two of her successors in the Readership in Commonwealth Government at Oxford, and with contributions from ten of her colleagues and former pupils. The book is very much an Oxford tribute to Perham; even, indeed, a Nuffield College tribute, for seven of the contributors have been closely associated with the college. It possesses a certain unity through the fact that it illustrates areas that have been of concern to Perham in her teaching and writing. Altogether, the ten essays provide a highly stimulating progress report on the condition and interests of African historical studies in Britain. In a short note it is impossible to do more than indicate the essays that appealed to me. The first two papers are interpretations of the historical evolution of British imperial government. Dr. Frederick Madden explores, critically and cogently, the notion that Great Britain has attempted to transplant the Westminster model of government to its colonies. David Fieldhouse, suggesting that there is, perhaps, a recurrent pattern in British imperialism, looks at imperial attitudes in the late eighteenth century, to find that considerations of defense and security overshadowed economic interests at this time. Bryan Keith-Lucas contributes a characteristically lucid paper on the dilemma of local government in Africa, identifying the respectable achievements that have been recorded on the practical level since 1947. John Plamenatz, in an essay entitled "Self Government Reconsidered," asks why the West should assume that its political values are necessary for the new African states. He feels that we must reconcile ourselves to the emergence of additional nationalist and authoritarian regimes, at the same time condemning their use of brutal methods. Kenneth Robinson provides a sophisticated analysis of autochthony and the transfer of power in the Commonwealth, dwelling particularly on the cases of Tanganyika, Ceylon, and South Africa. His discussion of the debates in these countries over a "national form" for the constitution represents a valuable corollary to the exposition set out in K. C. Wheare's *The Constitutional Structure of the Commonwealth* (1960). Individually and collectively, these essays strikingly embody the achievements of scholarship and imagination that have been reflected throughout Perham's long and distinguished career.

Carleton University D. M. L. Farr

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CABINET REFORM IN BRITAIN, 1914–1963. By *Hans Daalder.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 381. $8.00.) Professor Daalder's study is a translation and revision of his *Organisatie en Reorganisatie van de Britse Regering, 1914–1958* (1960) and something more than what the author modestly suggests, that is, "merely . . . an account, seen through the eyes of a foreign observer, of certain typical trends in British thought on British central government." It is a penetrating analysis of the development of the cabinet to the point where, as some observers claim, the cabinet threatens to eclipse the Commons. Part I traces the "evolution" of the cabinet since 1914; Part II describes the impact of the development of more viable defense and economic policies on the organization of the cabinet; and Part III not only summarizes the modifications in cabinet structure since 1914, but emphasizes Daalder's conclusion that, in the long run, "it is policy, not machinery, that counts" in the consideration of cabinet reform. Yet, he has made clear that the effectiveness of cabinet reorganization is, to a great extent, dependent upon the personality, administrative ability, and policy of the Prime Minister. This explains why Churchill, although not a first-class administrator, was "the unchallenged master of the entire government apparatus between 1940 and 1945"; why Attlee, while less forceful than his predecessor, "asserted himself in all fields and did not hesitate to rid himself of colleagues" who failed to measure up to his standards; why Eden, in spite of his earnest attempts to improve the efficiency of the cabinet, failed so miserably; and why Macmillan, "an astute [and ruthless] party manager," lasted as long as he did. Even more significant is the author's study of the cabinet's organization for defense and economic planning. By tracing the development of the "Defense Organization" from the establishment of the Committee of Imperial Defence in 1902 to the malaise that settled over the question of the defense establishment at the end of 1962, Daalder illustrates how the problems of defense profoundly affected not only the structure, but also the importance and function of the cabinet vis à vis Parliament. In the field of economic organization and planning, the cabinet made little real progress and, by 1963, still had not evolved a satisfactory economic policy. Indeed, the failure to develop flexible defense and economic policies emphasizes the urgent need for cabinet reform. Daalder evaluates the various proposals for cabinet reform and concludes that the major schools of thought concerning reform suffer from an all "too narrow" view of politics, which precludes a pragmatic approach to the problem. This work is an excellent supplement to Sir Ivor Jennings', A. B. Keith's, and J. P. Mackintosh's studies of the British cabinet; its value is enhanced by a complete bibliography, a detailed index, and footnotes where they should be—at the bottom of each page.

University of Mississippi JOSEPH O. BAYLEN

EUROPE

VON WEM DIE GEWALT IN DEN STAATEN HERRÜHRT: BEITRÄGE ZU DEN AUSWIRKUNGEN DER STAATS- UND GESELLSCHAFTSAUFFASSUNGEN ROUSSEAUS AUF DEUTSCHLAND IM LETZTEN VIERTEL DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Bernhard Weissel.* [Schriftenreihe des Instituts für allgemeine Geschichte an der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Number 7.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1963. Pp. 336. DM 29.) No student interested in the cultural history of Germany or in Rousseau's thought is unaware of the relationship between the two. During his own lifetime, Jean Jacques was idolized by the *Stürmer und Dränger* of the 1770's—Herder, Goethe, Lenz, Wagner—which is to say, by men who generally heaped scorn on other users of the French language. Throughout the nineteenth

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century and on into the twentieth, Rousseau has continued to exercise a special fascination for German historians and philosophers. That being the case, a new work by a young East German, written as a doctoral thesis at the Humboldt University in Berlin—or more precisely, at the Institute for Social Sciences of the SED's Central Committee—excites immediate interest. What has a spokesman for *this* Germany to say about the tormented Genevan, or about the milieu in which he lived and wrote? Unfortunately, the answer must be: not much, and most of that pitifully distorted. We are greeted, for example, with the flat pronouncement: "The French Enlightenment of the 18th century was a unitary ideological movement against feudalism. In its class character, it was bourgeois." So much for Baron de Montesquieu, Bonnot de Condillac, Count de Buffon, and all the other distinctly nonbourgeois philosophes. So much, also, for all the modern scholarship devoted to the real complexities of the French Enlightenment. Whether such scholarship is not known in East Berlin, or is simply rejected as obscurantism, does not become clear from Herr Weissel's work. I fear that the former is more likely, given his statement that both Montesquieu and Voltaire "were exponents of the high bourgeoisie, or official nobility." How Voltaire would have raged at that pairing of himself with the aristocrat from Bordeaux, not to mention that confusion of burghers with nobles of the robe! Through hundreds of pages devoted to popular sovereignty, Rousseau emerges as Weissel's standard-bearer against the conservative "bourgeois Enlightenment" and its modern continuators. If this curious book retains any interest for the weary reader who lasts until the end, it lies in the author's determination to make Jean Jacques the spokesman for both true democracy and enlightened German nationalism. Needless to say, the (East) German Democratic Republic is, for Weissel, the triumphant fulfillment of both impulses. Needless to say also, the real Rousseau eludes such easy capture.

Harvard University FRANKLIN L. FORD

DIE PREUSSISCHE SCHULPOLITIK UND DIE POLNISCHEN SCHULSTREIKS: EIN BEITRAG ZUR PREUSSISCHEN POLENPOLITIK DER ÄRA BÜLOW. By *Rudolf Korth*. [Marburger Ostforschungen, Number 23.] (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag. 1963. Pp. xvi, 184. DM 27.) This scholarly monograph is the outcome of a study begun by the author in a seminar on the problems of nationalities in the nineteenth century, under the direction of the distinguished authority on East European history at the University of Göttingen, Professor Reinhard Wittram. Investigating the Polish question in Prussia, Korth discovered that no study of Prussian school policy based on Prussian archival sources existed in the German language. It became his objective, therefore, to reconstruct for the first time the story of this special aspect of Prussian state policy toward nationalities and of German-Polish relations from the pertinent documents, hitherto unevaluated, of the Cultural and Interior Ministries in the Secret Prussian State Archive, now the German Central Archive in Merseburg. This work, in which he has attained his objective, is essentially a history of evolution and change in Prussian school policy from 1815 to 1909 in relation to the Polish population in the province of Posen, the reaction of that population as revealed in the local school strike at Wreschen in 1901 and the general school strike involving almost 47,000 Polish school children in 1906–1907, and the necessary counteraction of the Prussian authorities. Besides the unpublished documents of the Prussian archive, Korth has also made thorough and critical use of the most important published sources and literature in German and Polish except the press, which he has purposely avoided using because of its polemical and propagandistic character. Valuable key archival documents and a bibliography enhance the monograph's value. The author is to be complimented for his original, well-written contribution to the history of German-Polish relations, Herder Forschungs-

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rat, for including the monograph in its series, and Holzner-Verlag, for adding another volume to its distinguished publishing record of studies concerning Prussia.

University of California, Santa Barbara HENRY M. ADAMS

BELGIUM AND POLAND IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 1830–1831. By *J. A. Betley*. (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1960. Pp. 298. Glds. 24.) The purpose of this monograph, as stated by the author, is "to describe the consecutive relevant stages of the international situation, as far as the two revolutionary movements in Belgium and Poland were concerned." His main conclusion is that the connection between the two was reciprocal. On the one hand, the deterring effect of the Polish Revolution on Russia's intervention to uphold legitimacy in Belgium, though it set in later than most writers have stated, was all the more important since otherwise the Tsar's course could well have led to war with France. Conversely, Franco-British disagreement regarding Belgium was the main deterrent to their forceful support of the Poles against Russia. The latter contention, though convincing enough from the diplomatic evidence, would have been strengthened if the author had shown public opinion actually to be as pro-Polish and as irresistible as diplomats said it was. Also disappointing is the meager treatment of Prussia, the state that, more than any other, was territorially involved in East and West. On the credit side, however, is the feeling conveyed of the ragged edges of diplomacy as actually conducted—its mistakes, its decisions based on guesswork, and the very great time lag between events and knowledge of them in distant capitals. Lacking the great published source collections that exist for the second half of the nineteenth century, the diplomatic history of the period before 1850 greatly needs detailed studies based on archival material. In this respect Betley's study is a commendable effort, resting as it does largely on fresh material from French, British, and Dutch official archives as well as from such private sources as the papers of Palmerston, Guizot, Heytesbury, Sir Charles Bagot, and the Countess Lieven. Unfortunately, the author has all but drowned in his sea of documents. Not only does he take an egalitarian view of all facts, so that the mechanics of the transmittal of dispatches are often accorded as much attention as substantive matters, but the style is cumbersome, often to the point of unintelligibility. The publisher, moreover, far from polishing, has contributed his own errors of punctuation and typography. To these must be added the author's narrow view of the subject, which leads him to omit much of the generally known narrative that might have held his work together. Were it not for the introduction and conclusion, the reader could hardly know what was attempted or concluded. As it is, the best contribution is the appendix, which provides some thirty pages of documentary texts.

University of North Carolina ENNO E. KRAEHE

TOCQUEVILLE AND ENGLAND. By *Seymour Drescher*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 55.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 263. $6.00.) Alexis de Tocqueville is the only nineteenth-century French historian whose reputation is greater now than it was in his own time. Tocqueville was well known to his contemporaries; his major works were translated into English and much admired, and after his death his papers were collected and published by his friend and associate Gustave de Beaumont. Yet he was less successful politically, less voluminously published, and less widely read than his contemporaries Guizot and Thiers, whose standing as historians is now comparable to the prices of their marked down volumes in secondhand bookshops. The reputation of Taine grew greater, but has diminished more. Tocqueville, however, is being commemorated with a definitive edition of his works appearing under the direction of J.-P. Mayer, and scholarly articles and mono-

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graphs about him are being published. In America his books come out in paperback form—the expendable tribute to the durability of a writer's fame. Under these circumstances, a study of Tocqueville and England, in which the intention is to explain the writer through the influences on him, in the manner of literary research, is also historically important. Seymour Drescher has been concerned with England in the 1830's only in relation to Tocqueville. Yet no study of such a penetrating and illuminating mind could be made without also contributing to the intellectual environment that gave it shape. Tocqueville owed much to his English visits and his English friends. Intellectually England was his second country even though he never made an extended study of its institutions comparable to those he made of the United States and France. He drew upon English examples in justifying his general views on aristocracy, local government, and political liberty. To Tocqueville the true vindication of his principles came with his final and triumphant appearance in England in 1857. All this is developed by Drescher, and with a clarity and precision worthy of his subject.

Mills College FRANCIS H. HERRICK

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE CRIMEAN SYSTEM, 1855–71: THE STORY OF A PEACE SETTLEMENT. By *W. E. Mosse*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1963. Pp. 213. $10.00.) Since W. E. Mosse has based the six chapters of this volume on previously published articles, he has not dealt with the "Crimean system" in a completely coherent fashion. Yet by means of an introduction, an epilogue on the fate of the Triple Treaty of guarantee of 1856, and conclusions, he has tied these essays in diplomatic history into an illuminating exposition of the attempt to curtail Russian power in the Black Sea and Russia's efforts to circumvent it. He begins with the story of how Russia reached the decision to make peace in 1855 despite Alexander II's feeling of humiliation over the conditions he had to accept. Then he recounts the making at British insistence of the Anglo-Austro-French treaty of 1856 and how its publication disturbed the already cooling relations among the signatories. The subsequent episodes, thoroughly documented from both published and unpublished sources, are Russia's testing of the Paris settlement over Serpents Island and Bolgrad, its fishing for revision in Italian waters in 1857–1859, the Rumanian crisis of 1866, and the abrogation in 1871 of the Black Sea clauses. This revision brought the "fall" of the system, but not the formal annulment of the Triple Treaty of 1856. In conclusion, Mosse poses the problem of treaty revision, questions the value of treaties of guarantee, and passes an adverse judgment upon Palmerstonian diplomacy. Although he concedes that the arrangements of 1856 were "perhaps the best attainable under the circumstances," he believes that they failed to survive because "the Crimean system was built on sand; it offered no prospect whatever of a lasting solution of the 'Eastern question.'" His meticulous explication of the shifting Great Power attitudes in the negotiations that he has examined well support his view.

Clark University DWIGHT E. LEE

LE BAS POITOU À LA VEILLE DE LA RÉVOLUTION. By *J. Dehergne*. [Commission d'Histoire économique et sociale de la Révolution. Mémoires et documents, Number 16.] (Paris: the Commission. 1963. Pp. x, 313.) The *Commission d'Histoire économique et sociale de la Révolution* traces its ancestry (minus the "et sociale") back to 1886, on the eve of the centennial celebration of the opening of the Revolution, when it was created by decree of the Ministry of Public Instruction. It began the publication of what became scores of volumes of selected and edited documents, which, with the passing of the immediate purpose of the original commission, went into the hands of the *Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques,* a function of the library administration in the Ministry, becoming the fourth or "revolutionary" series of the vast "Collec-

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tion de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France." As a less voluminous adjunct of this monumental endeavor, a series of meticulous essays and documentary studies began to appear in 1930, and a generation later, with the appearance of this volume, only sixteen of them have accumulated. These range all the way from Henri Sée, *Études sur la vie économique en Bretagne (1772–an III)*, through Jean Bouchary, *Le marché des changes de Paris à la fin du* XVIII^e^ *siècle (1778–1800)* on to *Contributions à l'histoire démographique de la Révolution française*, edited by Marcel Reinhard. This particular item is a presentation in orderly fashion of a considerable amount of diligently culled statistics and source items from an infinite number of sources on the economic and social conditions in the eighteenth century in Bas Poitou, an administrative district consisting of three *élections* which, toward the end of the period covered, were to form part of the area involved in the Vendean rebellion. It tells us nothing startlingly new, but in its ensemble there is a vivid portrayal of regional realities. Agriculture varied from prosperous in the *élection de Fontenay* to backward and poverty-stricken in the *élection des Sables*. Industry and bourgeois interests, particularly through the putting-out system, penetrated many rural areas. Land management practices varied widely from peasant autonomy to close noble scrutiny. The middle class was pressing into all segments of society, including the lower clergy which it was coming to dominate even in the country districts. When civil war eventually emerged in the course of the revolutionary era, it was more an expression of these juxtaposed rivalries than of loyalty to king or Church. Nothing better revealed this than the triggering event—the resistance to conscription—for which there was no more reason per se than elsewhere. Here, however, it was often the case that peasant youths were to be conscripted while their bourgeois neighbors were to stay home, an intolerable situation. The volume closes with sixty pages devoted to a land use inventory of every parish and seigneury in Bas Poitou, followed by elaborate tables and indexes. An extensive bibliography, outlined here in sixty parts, is to be published separately by the *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de l'ouest*.

University of Wisconsin HENRY BERTRAM HILL

NAVIRES ET MARCHANDISES DANS LES PORTS DE ROUEN ET DU HAVRE AU XVIII^e^ SIÈCLE. By *Pierre Dardel*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e^ Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Ports, routes, trafics, Volume XV.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1963. Pp. 787.) The author states his purpose to be the rescue from oblivion and destruction of the statistics on the foreign and colonial trade of the ports of the Direction of Rouen (Haute Normandie) with only brief commentaries. All the usable data discovered in over twenty years of research in national and local archives and libraries (not including insurance and notarial records) are included in tables scattered through 420 pages of commentary and in 200 pages of appendix. These provide much useful information, all the more valuable because some of the sources were destroyed in the bombing of Le Havre in 1944. The usefulness of the work is enhanced by comments on the main sources used and on the limitations of the statistics and by a bibliography of secondary works in French and a few in other languages, though surprisingly none in Dutch. Three separate indexes for merchandise, place names, and names of persons facilitate the use of the book. The book is divided into two parts: one is on imports and exports, including the quantity or value of each commodity by country of origin or destination; the other gives the number, tonnage, and often ownership and flag registry of vessels engaged in both sea-borne and coastal shipping. Data includes fishing, the slave trade, and even shipping up the Seine as well as some hints on the financing of colonial expeditions and the risks involved. The text includes an analysis of the data and sometimes explanations. The information presented does not change significantly

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the prevailing picture of French foreign trade and shipping, but it does provide many details on the changing roles of Rouen and Le Havre in eighteenth-century French seaborne trade. Material is fullest, but not complete, on shipping and on the colonial trade in the years 1730–1781. Scattered data for the fifty years before 1730 provide some basis for comparison with the last years of the seventeenth century, but unfortunately there is very little information for the 1780's, except for 1789 and the trade with England in 1787. Some of Dardel's comments are contradicted by the tables. He comments on the lack of effect of French economic crises on the trade of these ports and elsewhere blames the unfavorable figures for 1787 and 1789 on the "disastrous" effects of the Eden Treaty. The tables, however, show that the unfavorable figures for 1789 applied to all countries and are a measure of the economic crisis, while the figures for 1787 show proportionately greater gains for Norman exporters than for English exporters and also advantages for those Rouen industries that benefited by increased imports of coal and raw materials.

Mount Holyoke College WILMA J. PUGH

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF LOUIS XVI. By *Saul K. Padover*. (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company. 1963. Pp. xiv, 373. $7.50.) Impersonal factors loom so large on the horizons of contemporary historians that they may tend to greet the publication of this detailed study of Louis XVI's character and career with mild astonishment. Yet the need for an adequate biography of the unfortunate King has long been recognized, and this volume will undoubtedly attract attention. Since its author is professor of political science at the New School for Social Research, readers in this field may turn to it expecting applications of the newer concepts and methods of the behavioral sciences to a central figure in a crucial period of revolutionary activity. Historians and political scientists will be disappointed. Twenty-four years ago, the late Mitchell B. Garrett, in the pages of this *Review* (XLV [Apr. 1940], 639), demonstrated that despite Dr. Padover's impressive bibliography his work cannot be regarded as a contribution to scholarly historical literature because of its unrestrained flights of literary imagination. Descriptions of gestures, thoughts, emotions, and inner motives of his cast of characters are vivid but often unjustified or unverifiable by normal critical historical standards. My careful rereading of this book confirms Garrett's judgment. Despite Padover's "Preface to new edition," this 1963 publication is, in fact, identical (even to factual and typographical errors) with the 1939 edition. Specialists of the French Revolution will be struck by the curiously old-fashioned picture of Louis's environment. They will regret the absence from Padover's pages of any references to the "aristocratic revolt," the demographic revolution, newer views on the interrelations of economic developments, social structure, and political activity (especially of the peasantry, "bourgeoisie," and "sans-culottes"), and other basic historical revisions. Comparison of this *Life* with Jacques Godechot's recent *Les Révolutions, 1770–1799* (1963), will show how far revolutionary scholarship has come in the generation since Padover wrote his interpretation of Louis XVI. It is regrettable that the author did not choose at least to allude in his preface to some of the more pertinent of these historiographical developments. The only change, other than the preface that implies that no revisions are needed, is the omission of the original illustrations and their captions. A happy result of this is the elimination of the false and inexplicable attribution to Louis David of François Gérard's famous prize drawing of Louis on August 10, 1792. In sum, the book is readable, usually well informed, but out of date. I must reluctantly conclude that the publication of this reprint serves neither the serious student of history nor the author who is esteemed for his biography of Joseph II and numerous publications on Jefferson and

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other topics of American and European politics and history. It cannot be recommended except as entertainment for the uncritical general reader.

University of Florida DAVID L. DOWD

REFORM AND REACTION: THE POLITICO-RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR. By *José M. Sánchez.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 241. $6.00.) The first sixty pages of this work give a rapid survey of Church-state relations in Spain over the centuries. The remainder is devoted to an account of Church-state relations from the advent of the republic in 1931 to the outbreak of the Civil War in July 1936. The author states, probably on the basis of interviews since the information is not footnoted, that the May 10 church burnings were planned. He analyzes Article XXVI of the Constitution and the several anticlerical laws of 1932 and 1933. He discusses the failure of the CEDA to improve the Church's constitutional position during the *bienio negro* (1934–1935). Speaking of the moderate Left, he concludes that their leaders mistakenly thought of the Church as their main enemy, whereas in reality the monarchists and anarchists were far more dangerous to the republic than was the clergy. With regard to the CEDA he notes that Gil Robles' extreme dependence upon the monarchists effectively prevented him from building a genuine Catholic republican party. Some of Mr. Sánchez' facts, drawn from ecclesiastical bulletins and from the Cortes debates, are welcome additions to historical knowledge. The details, however, are often given without significant context, the prose is often ungrammatical, and several proper nouns are repeatedly misspelled. On page 192 the reader is referred parenthetically to Chapter XIII for information concerning General Goded's plans in February 1936. But that chapter contains no such information. Such frequent lapses oblige the reader to question the editorial standards of both the author and his publishers.

Knox College GABRIEL JACKSON

RACE RELATIONS IN THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL EMPIRE, 1415–1825. By *C. R. Boxer.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. vii, 136. $2.40.) This volume is composed of the 1962 Richard Lectures which Professor Boxer delivered at the University of Virginia, to which have been added extensive footnotes listing sources. The theme is one on which perhaps only Boxer is fully qualified and draws on all his extensive research into Portuguese colonial history. The work is divided into three sections, dealing with Portuguese experience in West Africa (from Morocco to Angola), the littoral of the Indian Ocean (primarily Mozambique and Goa), and colonial Brazil. It is precise, fair-minded, and interesting throughout, and it provides impressive documentation to disprove the claims of many Portuguese (and some Brazilian) historians to the effect that the old Portuguese Empire was indifferent to the color line, save with respect to the slave caste itself. Most of the available evidence points strongly to the contrary. The author is not, however, merely building a case to demonstrate the pervasiveness of Portuguese racial intolerance, for he concludes that the color line and exploitation of Negroes were, if omnipresent, at least somewhat less rigorous than in other colonial empires. What he does effectively show is that, whether more or less lenient, such discrimination was a fundamental fact of Portuguese colonial life.

University of California, Los Angeles STANLEY G. PAYNE

BELGIUM AND THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION. By *Brison D. Gooch.* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1963. Pp. x, 110. Glds. 9.) The centennial of that turbulent year 1848 has inspired many monographic reassessments of the mid-century revolutions that then shook Europe. Belgium, although newly established as an independent state,

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proved stable enough to survive the storm with little strain and no sharp political crisis. The balancing of pressures and the interplay of personalities that contributed to this peaceful outcome are patiently dissected in this carefully documented analysis. Dr. Gooch, now associate professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, has based his study on the papers of Charles Rogier and Sylvain Van de Weyer, on diplomatic instructions and correspondence in the archives of the British Foreign Office, and on political and diplomatic correspondence in the French and Belgian archives. His research enables him to take an independent stand on disputed questions, such as Leopold I's alleged offer to abdicate, made to his cabinet on February 26, 1848. Opposing Henri Pirenne's view, Gooch accepts the reported incident and offers corroborative evidence from British and Austrian sources. Summing up the favoring circumstances that made Belgium one of the few continental powers to escape the contagious disorders of 1848, Gooch concludes that "in retrospect Belgian immunity from the full force of the February Revolution lay in the election of a Liberal ministry in 1847."

University of Illinois GEOFFREY BRUUN

FESTSKRIFT TIL ASTRID FRIIS PÅ HALVFJERDSÅRSDAGEN DEN 1. AUGUST 1963. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger. 1963. Pp. 326. Kr. 55.) Fifteen Danish scholars have contributed essays to this volume honoring the retired professor of history at the University of Copenhagen, Astrid Friis, on her seventieth birthday. A sixteenth has compiled a list of her publications, which have mainly been concerned with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the English-speaking world, she is known chiefly for her published doctoral dissertation *Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade* (1927). Of the essays in honor of Friis, only three are on non-Danish subjects: Erling L. Petersen discusses problems surrounding the Golden Bull of 1356 and concludes that it was scarcely the work of Charles IV; Niels Steensgaard examines freight costs in the English East Indian trade, 1601–1657, and suggests directions for future investigations; and Kristof Glamann writes wittily on the problem of sheer quantity that faces researchers in company archives and concludes that the same kind of system may apply in them as in the seemingly disordered study of the scholar, and that wholesale house cleaning is no solution in either case. With the exception of a sketch by Aksel E. Christensen on the main periods in the history of the Danish *Ständestaat* and a stimulating summary on "Nationalism, Anti-Nationalism and National Feeling in Denmark around 1900" by Povl Bagge, the other articles are concerned with problems of interest but not of central importance to the non-Scandinavian historian.

University of California, Riverside ERNST EKMAN

VOR DEN TOREN EUROPAS, 1918–1920: GESCHICHTE DER BALTISCHEN LANDESWEHR. By *Claus Grimm*. (Hamburg: August Friedrich Velmede Verlag. 1963. Pp. 320. DM 34.80.) This volume is a sequel to, and in the first few chapters also a repetition of, his earlier work *Jahre deutscher Entscheidung im Baltikum 1918–1919*. The enclosed bibliography is an impressive one. The reader only regrets that the book actually reflects the use of only a portion of the mentioned sources. Grimm's system of footnoting, if one can call it a system, is deplorable considering the fact that few footnotes are scattered throughout the volume. Unfortunately the often controversial and sometimes contradictory text requires support of every available source at the author's disposal. He has attempted to picture the Baltic German defense troops (*Die Baltische Landeswehr*) as crusaders who had stood guard at the Baltic gate during the most crucial period of the first Russian Bolshevik intervention in Europe. Doubtlessly

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the Baltic *Landeswehr* deserves some credit for its role in stemming the Bolshevik tide, but so do Finnish, Estonian, and many other forces. The author does not directly reveal the fact that the Baltic German members of the *Landeswehr,* representing only a small fraction of the population of Latvia, fought mainly for the preservation of their unjust feudal privileges and personal possessions, including half of the territory of the country, predominantly inhabited by Latvians. A careful reading of the book reveals scores of omissions and misinterpretations of historical facts obviously not to the author's liking. Still Grimm's present volume is far superior to previous publications of German authors pertaining to the period in question, with the fortunate exceptions of Dopkewitsch, Von Braatz, Von Rimscha, and Eduard von Rosenberg. No less than 222 out of the 298 pages of text are devoted to the early campaigns of the *Landeswehr;* much less space is devoted to the ignominious *Landeswehr* campaign against the Latvian and Estonian nationalist forces. The later operations of the Latvian Army, of which the *Landeswehr* was now a part, are dealt with on only fourteen pages. Much space is devoted to whitewashing of the Manteuffels, a well-known baronial family of Germanizers and colonizers of Latvia. Nor does the author reveal the fact that some *Reich* German adventurers and interest groups attempted to use the unfortunate Baltic Germans as tools in furthering their shady schemes. Also unrevealed is the tragic mistake of the German planners in exploiting and suppressing the Baltic national governments rather than helping them in their struggle to establish democratic regimes in their countries. Regardless of its shortcomings, the book is still useful to a critical historian for its wealth of information, partly based on unavailable sources (diaries, letters, sketches) and the author's personal interviews with the still living participants of the campaigns. It also contains useful maps and photographs.

San Jose State College EDGAR ANDERSON

LUTHER'S WORKS. Volume XLVIII. LETTERS. Volume I. Edited and translated by *Gottfried G. Krodel.* General Editor, *Helmut T. Lehmann.* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press. 1963. Pp. xxi, 426. $6.00.) With the publication of the first volume of Luther's *Letters,* the ambitious project of producing Luther's works in English in an American edition of fifty-five volumes approaches the halfway mark. This comprehensive edition, begun about a decade ago, is being published by the Concordia Publishing House of St. Louis and the Fortress Press (formerly Muhlenberg Press) of Philadelphia with Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann as the respective general editors. In presenting 119 letters written by Luther between 1507 and 1522, Professor Krodel has set a high standard of excellence with respect to selection, translation, style, and critical apparatus. The detailed historical introductions, comments, and biographical sketches help provide a complete account of the early life of the reformer as he struggles with his personal religious problems, evolves his evangelical theology, faces the consequences of the application of this theology to the issues of his day, and lays the foundations for a new, evangelical church order. He reveals to intimate friends such as George Spalatin, John Lang, John von Staupitz, and Philipp Melanchthon his courageous faith and depressing fears, his dynamic vitality and physical ailments, his love for his fellow man and his pugnacity in dealing with his opponents, thereby exposing his basic drives and outstanding qualities. With supporters and opponents he discusses all the major issues of this critical period, abuses in the Church, the indulgence controversy, university affairs, political developments, the Diet of Worms, his exile at the Wartburg, and the disturbances that brought him back to Wittenberg in 1522. Like the translators of previous volumes of this series, Krodel has attempted to "make Luther speak English" to our generation. The difficulties encountered can be illustrated by an otherwise unimportant example, his translation of "Lieber Mensch" into "for goodness' sake." On the whole, he masters

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the sixteenth-century Latin and German of Luther's letters and provides us with a lively and accurate translation.

Ohio State University HAROLD J. GRIMM

HARDENBERG: EINE POLITISCHE BIOGRAPHIE. Volume I, 1750–1800. By *Hans Haussherr*. Edited by *Karl Erich Born*. (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1963. Pp. viii, 263. DM 20.) This first volume of Haussherr's projected Hardenberg biography is not definitive. His flight from East Germany in 1958 and his death in 1960 are partly responsible. In fleeing, Haussherr left behind his most substantial sources. In dying, he denied a rather uneven manuscript the remedy of further research. The flight enabled him to give us a book almost cleansed of Neo-Marxist irrelevancies. He did not outrun, however, a tendency to give us in the name of biography what is more properly a sketch of some eighteenth-century German bureaucratic history with emphasis on developing class relationships. As Hardenberg is cranked through a half century of sociopolitical scenery we tend to lose him, for all his bulk, in the bushes. Hardenberg, the statesman of the possible, was, of course, notoriously able to color his suit to blend with the landscape. But it leaves him curiously indistinct. Haussherr, a devotee of administrative history, has us concentrate upon problems and situations. The book is worth publishing. Built upon obscure archival tidbits as well as previously published materials, and dealing with less prominent portions of Hardenberg's life, it will not soon be superseded. The substance is thin in places, but in addition to reviewing Hardenberg's family, education, marriages, finances, and contacts (for example, Goethe), we tour the higher bureaucracies of Hanover, Brunswick, and Prussia. George III of England appears in the earlier scenes, and the Franco-Prussian negotiations at Basel figure prominently toward the end. Interesting penetrations of the Enlightenment into German life are ably described. The use of sources is cautious, and one cannot say that Haussherr writes beyond his materials. Unfortunately, he does not exhaust them fully either. A collection of Haussherr's articles about Hardenberg as reformer, 1807–1813, is to be published shortly as Volume III of what will become, presumably, a four-volume biography.

California Institute of Technology HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK

THE ORIGINS OF SOCIAL LIBERALISM IN GERMANY. By *Donald G. Rohr*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1963. Pp. 179. $5.50.) The first half of this intriguing book presents a balanced and thoughtful account of the economic development of Germany during the years between the Congress of Vienna and the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848. The author is perhaps inclined to underestimate the social dislocation produced by the beginnings of industrialism; perhaps he exaggerates the well-being of the masses of Central Europe as compared with those of Great Britain. But his position is defensible. The gloomy portraits painted by most writers on the period may well be distorted; thus a fresh point of view is welcome. In the second half of his book, however, Professor Rohr is less persuasive. Here he advances the original notion that "by 1847 . . . a number of German liberals had thought out a rationale of social reform and had advanced a program of specific measures." More than that, the views of these "social liberals" coincided with the arguments of socialism in its more lucid moments; they foreshadowed the teachings of the Catholic Center party; they agreed essentially with the doctrines of conservatives like Stahl and Huber. To support his contention the author analyzes in a series of literate vignettes the writings of Rau, Prince Smith, Hansemann, Camphausen, Brueggemann, List, Rotteck, Welcker, Mohl, Harkort, Mevissen, and Biedermann. It is a tribute to his skill that at times he almost succeeds in making a grab bag of theories and speculations; palliatives and nostrums sound like a coherent program of reform. Yet the task is too much for even his considerable talents.

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Rohr may feel that "the original works of German social liberalism . . . have been strangely neglected by historians," but at least some readers of his book will find that neglect not altogether incomprehensible.

University of Wisconsin THEODORE S. HAMEROW

CHRONIK DER DEUTSCHEN SOZIALDEMOKRATIE. By *Franz Osterroth* and *Dieter Schuster*. (Hanover: Verlag J. H. W. Dietz. 1963. Pp. 672. DM 19.80.) The *Chronik der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie* is considerably more than the enlarged new edition of Franz Osterroth's *Chronik der Sozialistischen Bewegung* the foreword claims it to be. Dieter Schuster's efforts provide a quick and remarkably complete reference to any person, organization, or movement associated with German Social Democracy from Karl Marx's birth in 1818 to the party day in Cologne in 1962. In the five-hundred-page chronicle Schuster has pulled together a vast amount of material from widely scattered sources. The meticulously prepared appendixes further increase the value of this book as a reference tool. Special tables indicate the strength of each political party with regard to the total votes and the number of seats won in all *Reichstag, Bundestag,* and *Landtag* elections from 1871 to 1962 (exclusive of the Third *Reich*). The tables for each national and state government show every change of ministers from 1918 to 1933, and again after 1945. The author also provides an extensive, up-to-date bibliography. The handsome format, with dates spaced clearly in the margins and all proper names italicized, facilitates the location of data. The author provides valuable cross references through the inclusion of multiple, topical indexes in which he lists proper names, newspapers and journals, organizations, and events separately.

University of Southwestern Louisiana AMOS E. SIMPSON

GERMAN ADMINISTRATION SINCE BISMARCK: CENTRAL AUTHORITY VERSUS LOCAL AUTONOMY. By *Herbert Jacob*. [Yale Studies in Political Science, Number 5.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1963. Pp. xviii, 224. $7.00.) The primary theme of Mr. Jacob's book is the history and development of the German administrative system from 1871 to the present, with special emphasis upon the characteristics of the system and its responsiveness to national control. His work is, for reasons that he ably defends, restricted to a consideration of the *Reich* and of Prussia, with only an occasional bow to conditions and developments in the other *Länder*. He also excludes the German Democratic Republic in dealing with the period following World War II. The emphasis upon system and controls is partly explained by the fact that, as a social scientist, Jacob is more interested in the machinery of administration than in the people who man it, and partly because his work is one of the series devoted to the comparative study of administration in a number of important countries, which was inspired by Professor Fesler of Yale. Jacob presents a clear-cut survey of the operation of the civil service in Germany and Prussia in a period marked by sudden and violent changes of regime. For this reason it is significant not only as an analysis of the historical growth of an administrative machine in times of economic, social, and political stress but also as a contribution to the institutional history of modern Germany and as a reference book for students of history or political science who want to know something about the manner in which the German civil service operated at a particular time. The chief limitations on the usefulness of the book are posed by its restriction to the *Reich* and Prussia and by certain distortions arising from this restriction. The author has relied solidly upon the secondary literature in the field and has also made good use of primary sources beyond the extent one would expect in a general survey of an extended period. He writes clearly, understandably, and with little recourse to the jargon of the specialist. In his consideration of the early period the treatment of the social posi-

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tion of the German civil servants is not entirely beyond question, and at times he makes contradictory statements, which partially reflect his primary concern with Prussia. Thus he states that the civil service in the Second *Reich* was dominated by *Junkers*—unlikely in view of their declining position in Prussia itself and their almost complete absence from large portions of the general German scene—yet later identifies clearly bourgeois elements as belonging to the same class as the administrators. These social observations are, however, only peripheral to the main theme and do not detract from the solid value of his contribution to recent German history. It is to be hoped that the author has not only presented the historian with a valuable guide to administrative history in Germany but that his book will lead the way to further and more detailed studies in this often neglected field.

University of Massachusetts HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

NIEMIECKA REPUBLIKA DEMOKRATYCZNA: PRACA ZBIOROWA [The German Democratic Republic: A Collective Work]. Edited by *Bohdan Gruchman* and *Bolesław Wiewióra*. [Monografia Niemiec Współczesnych, Number 1.] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1963. Pp. 449. Zł. 90.) This collective work by nineteen Polish social scientists, geographers, and lawyers is the first of a projected series of monographs designed to familiarize Polish readers with the evolution of contemporary Germany, both East and West. The task is undertaken by the Western Institute in Poznań, an organization devoted to research and the dissemination of knowledge on the delicate problem of German-Polish relations. The publication of the present series is motivated, according to the sponsors, by the need to turn over a new leaf in these relations and to understand the role of socialist Germany in guaranteeing that the 1945 territorial arrangements are preserved and secured against the alleged "Drang (wieder) nach Osten" of the Bonn militarists. The participants in the present symposium are not among the better-known members of the Polish academic community, and the substance of their contributions is undistinguished. Stanisława Zajchowska's survey of East Germany's geography, communications, and natural resources is instructive if overoptimistic. The analytical competence displayed in Part I ("Socioeconomic Problems"), Chapters II–V ("Industry," "Agriculture," "Foreign Trade," "Living Standards"), is modest at best. Such analysis as breaks to the surface of crude data uncritically drawn from the East German Statistical Yearbook 1960/61 is hamstrung by Marxist preconceptions fashioned to fit the ideological themes of the moment: "catching-up and surpassing," socialist integration, Khrushchevian cornucopia, and the Poles' national compulsion to convince themselves that all is well west of the Oder-Neisse and east of revanchist Bonn. Throughout, much stress is put on the objectives of the seven-year plan, rendered obsolete by the time of the book's publication. The essays on agriculture and living standards provide an excellent illustration of what good dialectics can do with bad economics. Part II ("Political and Legal Problems") is frankly factional; the chapters on "Political and Social Forces in the GDR" and "The GDR's Political System" never rise above the level of an SED "short course." Socialist realism of the less imaginative kind dominates Part III ("Culture"). Among this part's notabilia is a curious little chapter on the cultural autonomy of the Łużyce Serbs who inhabit the territory of the republic. *The German Democratic Republic* is in the dubious tradition of party pamphleteering harking back to the intellectually dark years 1949–1955. Hopefully it is not symptomatic of trends in contemporary Polish scholarship.

Pennsylvania State University JAN S. PRYBYLA

THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG. By *Edward Crankshaw*. (New York: Viking Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 459. $7.50.) In the considered judgment of the former editor

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of the *Review,* professional historians are prone to "write to publish rather than to be read," but Mr. Crankshaw, describing himself as a writer and a novelist, has kept steadily in view that mercurial something called the general reading public. His book, regretfully, abounds in purplish passages, which achieve bizarre Hollywood images; it is too unbalanced and too allusive in places to be warmly recommended to a wide circle of readers and not enlightening enough to instruct the specialist. Crankshaw, it ought to be said, has an established, even an enviable, reputation as an interpreter of the Soviet Union; evidences of that emerge periodically in the *Fall,* though it is a little disturbing to see the empire of the tsars on the eve of the First World War termed an "absolutist autocracy." More misleading, admittedly, are the judgments that Britain fought "to smash the German economic challenge" or that the Danubian monarchy "had nothing to gain by victory." A useful book by Crankshaw on the city of Vienna, where he has spent much of his life, has been drawn upon in the present work, but the principal reliance has been authoritative secondary accounts, reinforced by some archival research, a smattering of memoirs, and interviews with respected Viennese scholars. Avowedly, his purpose is not to offer new material, but to take a new look at facts already established. The title suggests that a re-examination of the disintegration of the venerable monarchy on the Danube awaits the reader, yet the "fall" in the thinking of Crankshaw was not short like that of Adam, but rather Gibbonesque. With a nod or two at Charlemagne, the author digs into Austrian history at about 1815. The ensuing narrative is heavily overweighted on political and diplomatic affairs, at times, turning into a biography of Emperor-King Francis Joseph, "a man called of God," now Jove, more often Atlas. Half the book is required to reach the *Ausgleich* of 1867; the treatment of the immediately preceding period is the most competent of the entire work. Suggestive pen portraits of prominent policy makers are plentiful, not only of eminent Habsburg figures, but of men like A. E. F. Schäffle, Prime Ministers Edward Taaffe and Max V. Beck, who are regarded favorably, and Foreign Minister Leopold von Berchtold, Louis Kossuth, and Magyar politicians as a class, who are severely reproached. Not until he arrives at the "Epilogue" does Crankshaw dwell much on the actual collapse of the monarchy, which foundered, he thinks, not because it was composed of irreconcilable nationalities but because "it lost a war to people who hated dynasties," or perhaps because Francis Joseph lived too long. Almost completely overlooked are the nationality tangles, megalomaniacal Magyars aside, though it is appreciated that internal problems rendered the position of Austria-Hungary one of "excessive delicacy," and the gathering misery of the urban populations under the ordeal of the prolonged war. Not much attention is devoted to the military aspects of the First World War, but some wise generalizations in that connection are set forth. The book contains fresh and interesting illustrations.

University of Rochester ARTHUR J. MAY

STUDIES IN ARTHUR SCHNITZLER: CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATIVE VOLUME. Edited by *Herbert W. Reichert* and *Herman Salinger.* [University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures, Number 42.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Pp. 116. Cloth $5.00, paper $3.50.) The eight articles in this *Festschrift* contribute not only to specialized research but also in a larger way to what the editors call a "vigorous Schnitzler-Renaissance." In view of the diverse topics examined, it is unfortunate that the editors chose not to write an introductory essay of synthesis. One theme, however, emerges from several of the essays: the popular interpretation of Schnitzler as a symbol of Viennese *fin de siècle* decadence, preoccupied primarily with the transitory characteristics of his particular milieu, must give way to the view that he also made contributions of lasting value on human problems

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of universal concern. To some degree this view is implicit in all of the essays. Literary specialists particularly will be interested in certain new materials and suggestive ideas, such as Kurt Bergel's review of an unpublished tragicomedy, Joseph Dayag's observations on the French preference for Schnitzler above most other German writers, Richard Lawson's interpretation of *Die Weissagung* in terms of the death wish, and Robert Spector's analysis of Schnitzler's narrative techniques in the short novel. Three of the articles are especially relevant for cultural history. On the subject of "The Image of the Austrian in Arthur Schnitzler's Writings" Robert Kann skillfully delineates the salient features in Schnitzler's characterizations of urban professionals, military officers, aristocrats, and artists. Closely integrated is the theme of the rational and humane ideals underlying Schnitzler's contempt for politics. Kann's essay is thus a sympathetic and judicious interpretation of how Schnitzler related to the many facets of his Austrian environment. Walter Perl adds new information on the friendship between Schnitzler and the young Hofmannsthal drawn from unpublished correspondence. Finally, on an intriguing subject, Herbert Reichert discovers a Nietzschean influence in Schnitzler's "ethical revaluation of the amoral artist" around 1903. These essays add dimension to the view that Schnitzler's work has universal value, but further studies are necessary to clarify and substantiate this interpretation.

Michigan State University VERNON L. LIDTKE

BRIEFE. Volume V, SCHEITELPUNKT DER HISTORISCHEN PROFESSUR, ENTSTEHUNGSZEIT DER "WELTGESCHICHTLICHEN BETRACHTUNGEN" UND DER "GRIECHISCHEN KULTURGESCHICHTE," WIEDERAUFNAHME KUNSTGESCHICHTLICHER VORLESUNGEN, 1868 BIS MÄRZ 1875. By *Jacob Burckhardt.* Edited by *Max Burckhardt.* (Basel: Schwabe & Co. Verlag. 1963. Pp. 472. 26 fr. S.) The 180 letters included in this volume, some of them published for the first time, reflect the years of momentous changes on the European scene, keenly observed and analyzed by a professor of history from his vantage point in the center of *Alteuropa,* especially the demise of French hegemony and the rise of the Bismarckian *Reich.* Part of this correspondence is interesting for Burckhardt's personal biography. It deals with matters concerning his relations with his family and friends and his increasing stature as the great man of his university and city. The youthful enthusiasm of his earlier years has now finally changed into the reserved skepticism of mature wisdom. Significant is his reply to his colleague, Nietzsche, after receiving the latter's *Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie.* Burckhardt's concepts of the tasks of the historian, much at variance with the then fashionable emphasis on specialized research, are expounded in the numerous letters written to B. Kugler, historian in Tübingen. By far the most important section of Burckhardt's correspondence are the twenty-five letters to F. von Preen, the dignified *höhere Beamte* of Bismarckian Germany, to whom he revealed his thoughts on world affairs, centering around Germany, France, and Italy: the implications of the Franco-Prussian War, the pathology of the *Gründerzeit,* the Neo-Machiavellian *Realpolitik* of Bismarck, whom he disliked as a human type, but accepted as a historical necessity. The old-fashioned conservative, who in these years preferred his provincial *vita contemplativa* to the chair in Berlin as Ranke's successor, shows in this correspondence (which parallels and complements his contemporary *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*) not only his insight into the illusions of progress, comfort, and well-meaning liberal demagoguery, but an uncanny anticipation of the coming revolt of the "verrückte Teufel," of a totalitarian mass society where even the daily work starts and stops to the tune of military music. Like its predecessors, this volume is amply furnished with about two hundred pages of notes.

Kansas Wesleyan University FELIX M. WASSERMANN

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THE ORIGINS OF ROME IN HISTORIOGRAPHY FROM PETRARCH TO PERIZONIUS. By *H. J. Erasmus.* [Bibliotheca Classica Vangorcumiana, Number 11.] (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N. V. 1962. Pp. 152.) In no more than 132 clear, concise, and elegant pages, the author of this remarkable study of a little-known subject has come up with some very provocative theses that bear on many more general problems of European history. He has shown that the scholarly investigation of early Roman history began not with the German historians of the nineteenth century, nor with a few prophetic speculators of the eighteenth, but with the humanists of the *quattrocento* —with Leonardo Bruni and his sensitivity to "vulgares fabulosaeque opiniones" and with Lorenzo Valla and his demonstration of Livy's fallibility. He has found that the first to question the authenticity of the Romulus legend was not Jacob Perizonius, whom some authorities have admitted as a distant forerunner of Niebuhr, but rather Philip Cluverius (1580–1623), a good half century before the rise of philosophic skepticism. He has pointed out that sixteenth-century scholars, both those within the humanist tradition (like Carlo Sigonio) and those outside it (like Guillaume Postel), were by no means the slavish followers of the ancient historians they are usually made out to be, that the seventeenth-century scholars usually meant their etymological fantasies as a display of linguistic acrobatics rather than as serious hypotheses, and that even the most hair-raising theories about the Spanish origins of Rome, about the wanderings of the sons of Noah, and about the Oriental ancestry of Remus often exercised a positive influence on the development of serious historiography. In spite of the immense number of works he discusses with amazing perspicacity, Erasmus does not pretend to cover all European historiography from 1350 to 1800. He wisely omits, for instance, most of Gerald Strauss's German chroniclers and Giorgio Spini's *Trattatisti;* he leaves the Italian scholars largely to Arnaldo Momigliano; and he carefully sticks to one single, though basic thread that ends up with the great Dutch scholars of the late seventeenth century. All other contemporary intellectual and cultural phenomena (including some, like the lively school of Frisian antiquaries, that I for one was completely unaware of) are discussed largely in the light of how they affected, or were affected by, the successive contributions to the study of ancient Rome. Erasmus is more aware than any of his predecessors that even the most obscure bits of classical philology occur in a broader historical context, and he has turned the quarrels over Romulus into a sort of microcosm of the European spirit over some four centuries. This little masterpiece will soon sweep away a good number of misconceptions current among historians today, and it is probable that a few more works of the same kind will eventually relieve them of their by now tiring obligation to pick out the errors in Sandys and Feuter.

University of Chicago ERIC COCHRANE

GLI ULTIMI ANNI DELLE LIBERTÀ COMUNALI AQUILANE (1521–1529). By *Raffaele Colapietra.* [Università degli Studi di Napoli, Biblioteca degli "Annali" dell'-Istituto di Storia Economica e Sociale, Number 6.] (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1963. Pp. 88. L. 1,500.) Surrounded by the high peaks of the Apennines, the medieval commune of Aquila dominated the approaches to the upper Abruzzi, the northernmost region of the kingdom of Naples. Its strategic position, flourishing industries (textiles, leather), celebrated mint, and abundant cultivation of saffron made the city a major commercial-agricultural center second only to Naples. As in many other Italian communes, the merchant oligarchy gradually acquired control of the nearby *contado,* but never to the point of full domination. Despite frequent internal struggles, Aquila was able to maintain a high degree of autonomy from monarchical control thanks to its power and the weakness of the monarchy beset by dynastic squabbles. This is the background upon which Dr. Colapietra builds his detailed ac-

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count of Aquila's last efforts in the second decade of the sixteenth century to retain its autonomy against the encroachments of Spanish absolutism. The Spanish rulers could not permit the survival of a tradition that allowed the city to declare war and make peace at will almost as an independent power. With the confinement of the Count of Montorio (1521), Aquila's most powerful baron, the Spanish crown began a systematic policy of gaining direct control of the *contado* in opposition to the merchant oligarchy. A peasants' revolt in 1528 in the wake of a French invasion served as a pretext for the viceroy, Philibert de Chalons, to proceed with the total infeudation of the *contado* in favor of faithful followers of the Spanish rulers. This was the beginning of Aquila's rapid economic decline. The narrative is based on documents in the *Archivio di Stato* of Aquila, many of which are given in the footnotes and appendix. A long article has been made into a book lacking a table of contents, separate bibliography, and index.

University of Massachusetts VINCENT ILARDI

UNA FIGURA DELLA VENEZIA SETTECENTESCA: ANDREA MEMMO. RICERCHE SULLA CRISI DELL'ARISTOCRAZIA VENEZIANA. By *Gianfranco Torcellan*. [Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Centro di Cultura e Civiltà, Scuola di S. Giorgio per lo Studio della Civiltà Veneziana, Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato. Civiltà Veneziana, Saggi, Number 13.] (Venice: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale. 1963. Pp. 233. L. 4,200.) Dr. Torcellan has taken Andrea Memmo, who was beaten for the dogeship in 1789 by Lodovico Manin, last of all the doges of Venice, as a way of bringing to life the issues of the saddest and most sterile of all periods in the republic's history, the second half of the eighteenth century. It supplements the somewhat similar portrait given by G. Tabacco in his *Andrea Tron (1712–1785) e la crisi dell'aristocrazia senatoria a Venezia* (1957) and should be read against the background provided by M. Berengo in *La società veneziana alla fine dell 1700: Richerche storiche* (1956). Memmo was in no way a great man, but there is a biographical interest of some poignancy as well as a constitutional interest in the story of his attempt to bring the lessons of an Illuminist education to bear on the political and economic problems of Venice, in watching his careful liberalism becoming muffled by the intricacies of the administrative machine and by the half-despairing, half-proud acceptance by his peers of the impossibility of change. It was an acceptance to which Memmo was, in any case, predisposed by his being, in birth and fortune, perfectly representative of the directing class. He moved from office to office, writing acute and copious reports, striving to let some of the air of the *Encyclopédie* into the file crammed offices of the Venetian magistracies. He was twice ambassador, at Constantinople and Rome, but in neither post were events such as to need strenuous action. Torcellan's narrative is firmly based on archival material and a thorough survey of the already copious secondary material, and though his style has caught something of the languor and vague conceptualizing of the period, he has helped us to understand why Venetian statesmen were unable to break out of the decayed but enchanted garden of their own traditions.

Jesus College, Oxford J. R. HALE

PIO IX E VITTORIO EMANUELE II DAL LORO CARTEGGIO PRIVATO. Volume III, LA QUESTIONE ROMANA DALLA CONVENZIONE DI SETTEMBRE ALLA CADUTA DEL POTERE TEMPORALE, 1864–1870. Part 1, TESTO; Part 2, I DOCUMENTI. By *Pietro Pirri, S. J.* [Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae, Volumes XXIV and XXV.] (Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana. 1961. Pp. xii, 336; xv, 465. $13.40 the set.) The publication of these two volumes marks the completion of Father Pirri's extensive study of Italo-papal relations that began to appear in 1944. The entire work, a total of five volumes of narrative and documents, covers more than two-thirds

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of the tumultuous pontificate of Pius IX: the period from the critical happenings of 1848 to the occupation of Rome in 1870. The valedictory installment now before us surveys the six-year interval that opened with the conclusion of the ill-fated September Convention and reached a dramatic finale with the breach made in the walls at Porta Pia on that never-forgotten September 20. However, the accompanying volume of documents also includes material on a number of post-1870 developments, the most noteworthy of which is the attempt of the Vatican to reactivate its relations with England. Pirri, who has been given access to the archives of the Holy See, knows the papal side of the story extremely well and recounts it with precision and insight. Everyone interested in the history of the Roman question will be grateful to him for the abundance of hitherto unpublished material which he has worked into the text and made directly available in the documentary section. Of particular value in the latter are the dispatches of Giacomo Cardinal Antonelli, the papal secretary of state, and also some of the reports from Monsignor Flavio Chigi, the nuncio in Paris, and from Chigi's counterpart in the Austrian capital, Monsignor Mariano Falcinelli. Strangely enough, despite the general title of the series, the reader will find among the documents comparatively little correspondence between Pius and King Victor Emmanuel II. Unfortunately, the author tells us nothing new or searching about Italian policy during this period. It is disappointing that he does not make adequate use of nonpapal sources that would have added both depth and perspective to his treatment of the subject.

University of Chicago S. William Halperin

METEORA: THE ROCK MONASTERIES OF THESSALY. By *Donald M. Nicol.* (London: Chapman and Hall. 1963. Pp. x, 210. 35*s.*) While a considerable body of literature on the Greek monasteries of Mount Athos exists, Donald M. Nicol's book is the first monograph on the Meteora in northwestern Thessaly. Nicol intends his book to "serve as an introduction to the unique phenomenon of the Meteora, to the ideal of Byzantine monasticism which inspired men to scale their heights, and to the historical setting in which their aerial monasteries came into being." He describes the fantastic location of the Meteora and the adventures of nineteenth-century visitors to the monasteries. This is followed by two background chapters which may be read with profit as separate units and which discuss the development of Byzantine monasticism and the unbelievably complex political history of medieval Thessaly down to the fourteenth century. Chapter IV surveys the principal literary and documentary sources for the history of the Meteora and the first traces of monasticism in the early fourteenth century when hermits lived in the caves of Doúpiani under the spiritual authority of a *protos*. The next two chapters are devoted primarily to the development of the Great Meteoron and especially to its fourteenth-century founders, the Hesychast monk Athanasius and the Serbian Emperor of Thessaly, John Uroš, who after his abdication took the monastic name of Joasaph. Particularly interesting is the historical process in the course of which the new foundation established its independence from the *protos* of Doúpiani and functioned as a place of refuge from the Ottoman Turks. The last three chapters of the book discuss the history of the lesser Meteora monasteries, especially their great flowering under Suleiman the Magnificent and the support given to several of them by Rumanian voivodes and hospodars. Attractive features of this informative volume are good photographs of the monasteries, excellent descriptions of the extant remains, and the author's wide historical and geographic perspective. Nicol studies these monastic foundations of late medieval and early modern times against the background of earlier Byzantine monasticism and general Balkan history and follows their development to modern times. A fuller history of the manu-

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script collections and libraries of Meteora, however, would have been a welcome addition to this useful book.

University of Michigan PAUL J. ALEXANDER

WSCHODNIA EKSPANSJA NIEMIEC W EUROPIE ŚRODKOWEJ: ZBIÓR STUDIÓW NAD TZW. NIEMIECKIM "DRANG NACH OSTEN" [The Eastern Expansion of Germany in Central Europe: Collection of Studies on the So-Called German "Drang nach Osten"]. Edited by *Gerard Labuda.* [Studium Niemcoznawcze Instytutu Zachodniego, Number 5.] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1963. Pp. 321. Zł. 55.) This collection of eight studies deals with the question of German expansion in Central Europe, the so-called German *Drang nach Osten.* In the last two decades Polish historians have for obvious reasons been much interested in this question. This is their first attempt at a "tentative synthesis." The book opens with an analysis by a leading Polish historian, Gerard Labuda, of Polish and German historiography on the German *Drang nach Osten,* in which the complexity of the problem is stressed. In the following studies Jan Dabrowski traces "Polish Policy toward the Pressure of the German Feudal World on Bohemia and Hungary in the Middle Ages"; Ewa Maleczyńska points out some questions concerning the *Drang nach Osten* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that need further elucidation; Józef Chlebowczyk discusses "The Role of Polish-German Relations in the History of the German *Drang nach Osten* from 1795 to 1918"; Zdzisław Nowak analyzes "The Economic Bases of Germany's Imperialist Expansion in Eastern Europe"; Janusz Pajewski presents the views of some German advocates of eastward expansion prior to World War I and sketches the Weimar Republic's policy toward Poland; Czesław Madajczyk examines the "War Aims of the Third *Reich* in the East"; and, finally, Bolesław Wiewióra describes the contemporary eastern policy of the Federal German Republic. These studies fail to provide a general objective treatment of this extremely complex and controversial problem, dealing only with some aspects of it, often in a one-sided manner. Since the studies have not been coordinated, the whole presents a disjointed picture. The writing is, for the most part, undistinguished. All in all, this is a disappointing book; it makes no new contribution to the subject and does not come near to providing a synthesis.

University of Hawaii ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI

1918: DIN ISTORIA LUPTELOR REVOLUTIONARE DIN ROMÎNIA [1918: From the History of the Revolutionary Struggles in Rumania]. By *V. Liveanu.* [Institutul de Istorie a Partidului de pe lîngă. C. C. al P.M.R.] (Bucharest: Editura Politică. 1960. Pp. 678. Lei 21.70.) This book forms an important link in the chain of historical studies being forged by Rumanian scholars to provide a Marxist account of the growth of the revolutionary movement and the rise of the Communist party in their country. At the same time its scope is broad enough to give us a fairly comprehensive interpretation of Rumanian history during the entire period of the First World War. The author, an able young researcher associated with the Institute of Party History in Bucharest, spent almost a decade gathering evidence from the files of the Rumanian Ministries of Justice, Interior, War, and Foreign Affairs, provincial and municipal archives, the personal papers of leading figures of the old regime, as well as from newspapers, a wide variety of little-known printed sources, and even documents from Hungarian archives. The result is an unbelievably detailed story of riots and resistance among the peasants, strikes and demonstrations on the part of the workers, and desertion and insubordination within the army. This unrest was so widespread and so intense, Liveanu asserts, that it thoroughly frightened Rumania's "bourgeois-gentry regime" and thereby exercised a decisive influence upon all aspects of domestic and foreign

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policy. Thus, he views the decision of the government to intervene (August 1916) more as a desperate attempt to avert an imminent social upheaval than as an act of Rumanian nationalism, the separate peace with the Central Powers (March 1918) more as a response to a crescendo of revolutionary agitation than to a military situation rendered untenable by the Soviet withdrawal from the war, and the immediate postwar union of Transylvania with the Old Kingdom more the result of the "struggle of the masses" than the product of the military and diplomatic situation. Liveanu's study exhibits characteristics non-Marxist readers will regret: a polemical approach, partisan selection and use of evidence, and an exaggeration of the influence of social and economic factors—especially the role of the "people"—at the expense of military and political realities. If due allowance is made for these tendencies, however, this book can be used with great profit. Here, for example, we find detailed documentation previously lacking for the generally accepted opinion (of Mitrany and others) that internal discontent, coupled with the influence of the Russian Revolution, precipitated the government's espousal of land reform and universal suffrage. Furthermore, Liveanu is undoubtedly correct in believing that a desire to distract the lower classes from economic and social demands influenced the adoption of a chauvinistic foreign policy. This argument is more valid, however, when applied to the events of 1918–1919 than to those of 1916. Despite serious reservations regarding interpretation and emphasis, I consider Liveanu's book to be essential to a proper understanding of this critical period of Rumanian history.

Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia GLENN TORREY

THE SOVIET HUNGARIAN REPUBLIC AND THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE. By *Alfred D. Low*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LIII, Part 10.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1963. Pp. 91. $2.50.) This is a detailed and systematic study of the attitude and policies of the Allied Powers during the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 toward the short-lived (133 days) Soviet Hungarian Republic. It is widely believed that the harsh treatment of Hungary by the Allies at the Peace Conference, especially its territorial losses, were motivated by Allied wrath over the establishment of a Communist regime under Béla Kun in Budapest on March 21, 1919. Low, however, proves that while the Allies opposed Communism in Hungary, just as they had opposed it in Russia, they determined the new Hungarian frontiers in principle before the rise of Kun's regime and that they showed it initially, at least, greater consideration than they had shown the liberal-democratic regime of Count Károlyi. Later when Kun spurned their overtures and especially when he tried to export Communism by force of arms, their attitude toward him hardened. However, as Low proves, although the Allies often considered armed intervention against Soviet Hungary, they never actually decided upon it. In the end it was internal disaffection and an invasion by the Rumanians, who were fighting for their own ends rather than as agents of the Allied Powers, that toppled the Kun government on August 1, 1919. The study is based mainly on published sources. Low's reliance on rather dated sources for the background of the story (Hungary and its minorities before the Peace Conference) results in several factual errors, but the core of his story (the Allies and Soviet Hungary) is carefully researched, the facts are accurately reconstructed, and the conclusions are dispassionately presented. Although the study reveals few facts that one could not find in the books of Deák, Perman, Spector, and Lederer on the Paris Peace Conference and Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, respectively, it is useful to have a systematic and full study of Allied policy and Soviet Hungary.

Florida State University VICTOR S. MAMATEY

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POLAND: BRIDGE FOR THE ABYSS? AN INTERPRETATION OF DEVELOPMENTS IN POST-WAR POLAND. By *Richard Hiscocks*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. vi, 359. $6.75.) Poland's unique position within the Soviet bloc, resulting from the October revolution of 1956, has inspired many writers to depict the contemporary Polish scene. Only some special contribution could justify the publication of still another volume on the same subject. Professor Hiscocks has made just such a "special contribution" in the clarity of his explanations of all that has happened in Poland since the end of World War II. Professor of political science and international relations in the University of Manitoba, the author can hardly be distinguished from a historian in his emphasis on historical background for an understanding of the present. Three chapters or approximately one-fourth of the book are devoted to the period prior to 1944. Some readers will question the appropriateness of including chapters on "Marx and Engels" and on "The Adaptation of Marxism to Russia" as essential background material in a book whose subtitle is *An Interpretation of Developments in Post-War Poland*. In interpreting and explaining turning points in Poland's recent history, Hiscocks is at his best. He provides the answers to many questions: How and why did the Communists become entrenched in 1945–1947? Why was Gomulka's life spared in 1948? Why did the revolution succeed in Poland, yet fail in Hungary? Why is Poland permitted to follow its own road to socialism? The author describes the "October Days" concisely yet dramatically, reconstructing what transpired as accurately as possible on the basis of currently available data. But he regards the revolution as a culmination of certain specific events in the Soviet Union and in Poland and shows the direct relationship between them. The death of Stalin, the execution of Beria, Khrushchev's visit to Belgrade, and the Twentieth Party Congress—these events had direct and immediate repercussions in Poland. The "Thaw" in Poland moved more quickly and deeply than in Russia; its climax was Gomulka's return to power. Whether Poland under Gomulka will provide the bridge between East and West that Hiscocks hopefully implies still remains to be seen.

Ohio State University CHARLES MORLEY

SCIENCE IN RUSSIAN CULTURE: A HISTORY TO 1860. By *Alexander Vucinich*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1963. Pp. xv, 463. $10.00.) Alexander Vucinich's book is the first satisfactory treatment in a Western language of the development of Russian science to 1860. His chief concern is with "the influence of social environment on scientific thought in pre-Reform Russia, and generally with the place science occupied in Russian culture." He gives credit to the Russian state for providing an organizational framework, funds, and, initially, foreign scientists so that Russia could make important contributions to the advancement of science during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the same time, he shows how the Russian gentry's general indifference to science, the narrow class basis of education, and religious and political obscurantism often hindered the development of Russian science. Hence Russia's first scientists of note were usually Germans. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, a number of outstanding native Russian scientists had demonstrated themselves, especially in mathematics and chemistry, to be worthy pupils of their European masters. One cannot, in fairness to the author, demand bibliographical completeness in regard to a subject as broad as the history of science in Russian culture to 1860. Indeed, the bibliography and footnotes reveal a degree of familiarity with the available literature rare among Western students of Russian affairs. It is disturbing, however, that he does not seem to have consulted recent works in Western languages by such writers as Leontovitsch, Raeff, Riasanovsky (on official nationality), and Rogger. His failure to use these writers is regrettable because his discussion of the

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relation of Russian culture and ideology to science in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is the weakest part of his book. Above all, he relies too heavily on earlier Russian writers in explaining what happened to Russian science between 1800 and 1860. For example, as misguided as official nationality was, it did not prevent Nicholas I's reign from being the culmination of Russian scientific and literary culture prior to the reforms of the 1860's. To explain this phenomenon, the author needs a newer and better frame of reference than that provided by earlier Russian writers. Vucinich's well-written and interesting book is one of the most important studies of Russian cultural and social history that have appeared thus far in the United States. The valuable information it furnishes concerning the history of Russian scientific institutions and individual scientists makes it indispensable for all serious students and teachers of Russian history.

Pennsylvania State University EDWARD C. THADEN

ESSAYS IN RUSSIAN AND SOVIET HISTORY IN HONOR OF GEROID TANQUARY ROBINSON. Edited by *John Shelton Curtiss.* [Studies in East European History, Number 8.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1963. Pp. xx, 345. Glds. 36.) These essays, or rather articles, by Professor Robinson's students and colleagues consist of an introduction by Curtiss and twenty contributions divided chronologically into three parts. The introduction discusses, in a personal yet restrained and scholarly manner, Robinson and his work. Part I, "The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," contains six articles advancing from Bissonnette's "Peter the Great and the Church as an Educational Institution" to Petrovich's "V. I. Semevskii (1848–1916): Russian Social Historian" and Byrnes's "Dostoevskii and Pobedonostsev." The second part deals with the years 1900–1917 and includes two studies of Lenin, and one each of Plekhanov, the socialist internationals, Michurin, the Russian industrialists, and the form of government of the Russian Empire. Finally, the third, Soviet, part offers another seven articles ranging in time from the anti-Bolshevik Jassy Conference in 1918 to the Communist conquest of the French postal union after the Second World War. Much attention is devoted to such figures as Zinoviev, Radek, and Pokrovskii, as well as to the Comintern as such. There is no index. Several articles seem to have been poorly proofread. In general, the publication of the volume shows signs of negligence. Most of the contributions in this collection are for specialists in the particular topics that they cover. Some are devoted to a single year, a single development, or a single book. In a number of cases they utilize a single important source or group of sources to depict more clearly the subjects of their discussion. Thus Lang uses reports of foreign diplomats to add information on "Radischev and Catherine II," Roosa explores the publications of the Association of Industry and Trade to discuss the thoughts of Russian industrialists on economic development from 1906 to 1917, and McNeal utilizes the records of the abortive Jassy Conference. The articles in the volume generally indicate the high competence of their authors, but suffer from severely restricted scope and conclusions; several of them require more background. A few pieces, however, are of a more general interest. They include Bertram Wolfe's treatment along national lines of "French Socialism, German Theory, and the Flaw in the Foundation of the Socialist Internationals," and especially Szeftel's precise and nuanced discussion of "The Form of Government of the Russian Empire prior to the Constitutional Reforms of 1905–6" and Von Laue's incisive examination of "The Crises in the Russian Polity."

University of California, Berkeley NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

THE RISE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA. By *J. L. H. Keep.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 334. $7.20.) Dr. J. L. H. Keep, the author of

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some very interesting studies of pre-Petrine Russia, has now published a massive work on Russian Social Democrats. The eight closely packed chapters of the narrative begin with "The Forging of the Faith" and "The First Heresies," move on to "The Birth of Bolshevism" and "The Great Schism," reach their climax with the year 1905, and conclude with the subsequent "Ebbing Tide." The volume contains also a foreword, a list of abbreviations, a rich bibliography, and an index. This is the work of a devoted scholar. The research is unstinting, painstaking, and thorough; the notes closely support the text. Of the new sources utilized by the author, the materials of the Inter-University Project on the History of the Menshevik Movement deserve special notice. Moreover, Keep not only tells the story, often in great detail; he also continuously interprets and judges his heroes and their doings. Thus he adds interest and vigor to a study that otherwise tends to bog down in a maze of minor facts. The author's view is characterized by a certain "realism" and common sense as well as by what is apparently a very low regard for the Marxist teaching, in particular in its Russian versions. Indeed Keep tends to take a functional view of ideology and to slight rather than to exaggerate doctrinal differences among various groups of Marxists. This approach strikes me as valid to a large extent and also as refreshing, by contrast with not only all the official Soviet histories, but also the dogmatic writings of the Mensheviks and other revolutionary exiles and even of some Western students of the topic. And yet Keep does not quite have his subject in the right focus. Part of the difficulty may lie in the rather arbitrary termination of the volume sometime after 1906; it goes without saying that 1917 was the real divide. More to the point, a dedicated study centering on the obsessive petty quarrels of the Russian Social Democrats cannot quite account for their part in history. Perhaps the author should have analyzed in more detail the nature of the Social Democratic, particularly the Bolshevik, appeal to the masses, instead of concentrating so much on internecine squabbles. Lenin's practical gifts are often mentioned, but little is done with them. Beyond that, there looms the fundamental general question of how and why these blind and ineffective sectarian intellectuals could play a historic role and, in fact, eventually move history. To be sure, as the editor of the *AHR* never fails to tell us, "a book can seldom be fairly criticized for not being another book." One should be grateful to Keep for what his book is.

University of California, Berkeley NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

NEAR EAST

THE MIDDLE EAST: A SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY. By *Stephen H. Longrigg.* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. 1963. Pp. 291. $6.95.) Anyone wanting background information on problems of the Middle East today can read this volume with profit, and the specialist may wish to consult certain chapters. Brigadier Longrigg emphasizes that this is not a history; nor is it a work for specialists, but he devotes a considerable portion to a review of the area's history, beginning with antiquity and bringing it to the present. Certainly few people are so well qualified as the author to write such a handbook or guide. He spent almost a half century in the Middle East and had experience both in government and business. His previous works on Iraq and other areas have been significant contributions to the literature of the field. Against the historical background provided, the author describes the people and their geographical environment, their natural resources, and their industrial potential. In a thoughtful, concluding chapter, Longrigg emphasizes that the "region cannot but retain more than a little of its central, tri-continental importance, political and strategic." He points out, however, that in spite of its tremendous oil resources, its lack of other natural resources makes it likely that agriculture will remain the greatest subsistence occupation

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of the region. There are a number of satisfactory maps and many photographs. While most of the photographs are interesting, some of them could have been eliminated, which probably would have reduced the price of the book and allowed more space to elaboration of the subject. It can be used as supplementary reading in a survey course dealing with the Middle East. The author has provided a useful bibliography to which he has appended a prefatory remark indicating the omission for the most part of works on history and politics. An "Alphabetical Index for Middle Eastern Countries, by Subjects or Aspects" makes the book a ready reference for students; it also includes a comprehensive general index.

University of Puget Sound LYLE S. SHELMIDINE

POLITICAL FACTIONS IN ALEPPO, 1760–1826. By *Herbert L. Bodman, Jr.* [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume XLV.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 160. $2.50.) Inclusion of this work in "The James Sprunt Studies," a series that has been devoted mainly to aspects of North Carolina's history, is a sign of the deep interest in the Near East developing on the Chapel Hill campus. Both the book and the interest are welcome additions to the field. In five chapters Bodman describes the groups contesting for dominance in Aleppo—representatives of the central government, the local Janizary garrison, the *ashrāf*—and then chronicles the struggle for power that gripped the commercial city during the period 1760–1826. The *ashrāf* had no internal solidity, but represented instead the conflicting interests of several leading families. Both the *ashrāf* and the Janizaries lost out to Istanbul. The study is based on the correspondence of French and British consuls in the area, especially that of John Barker, supported by gleanings from printed Arab and Turkish chronicles. Bodman repeats the charges that the Ottoman administrative machinery in the late eighteenth century was corrupt and ineffective. Following these cliché-ridden paths is bound to be unproductive, but perhaps that is the price one must pay for studying the provinces before coming to grips with the central organization and for generalizing from the specific instance.

Princeton University NORMAN ITZKOWITZ

AFRICA

FIVE AFRICAN STATES: RESPONSES TO DIVERSITY. THE CONGO; DAHOMEY; THE CAMEROUN FEDERAL REPUBLIC; THE RHODESIAS AND NYASALAND; SOUTH AFRICA. By *Edouard Bustin et al.* Edited by *Gwendolen M. Carter.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 643. $10.00.) This volume concerns five African states with diverse backgrounds and characteristics. All of them are strained by regional, racial, and economic counterpressures toward internal division and toward unity. By studying these countries side by side, the editor seeks "to gain insight into the effect of forces that are present in most, if not all, of the African countries and, indeed, are characteristic of developing states." Writing from a common outline which includes such topics as historical background, contemporary setting (geography, economy, social structure), political process, contemporary issues, and external relations, five political scientists present highly informative yet interpretive accounts of their respective states. All the essays have good annotated bibliographies. Belgian-born Edouard Bustin's study on the Congo, introduced by a masterful fifty-page historical summary, is first rate. Virginia Thompson's detailed portrayals of Dahomey's economic problems and political evolution since 1957 nicely supplement and update the Dahomey sections in her *French West Africa* (1958). Though excellent in many respects and full of insights, Victor T. Le Vine's essay on the Cameroun

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Federal Republic contains imprecise information and omissions on two important matters. The author confuses the four opposition leaders' Open Letter of June 15 with their Manifesto of June 23 and thereby leaves the impression that there was but one pronouncement involved in the events leading to their subsequent arrest and conviction. In his section on "External Relations" he seems only vaguely aware of Cameroun's membership and activities since 1961 in the *Union Africaine et Malgache* (UAM), which he incorrectly calls "the Organization of African and Malgasy States (OAMS, the so-called 'Brazzaville Twelve'). . . ." The accounts of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland by Herbert J. Spiro and of the republic of South Africa by Thomas Karis, both of which concentrate upon developments in the past decade, have many merits. There are occasional factual errors in the essays, but on the whole the editor and five contributors have produced a highly useful, authoritative work.

Bowling Green State University DAVID E. GARDINIER

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE AT THE TURN OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *P. J. Idenburg.* [Leidse Historische Reeks van de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, Volume VIII.] (Leiden: Universitaire Pers. 1963. Pp. 134. Fl. 10.50.) It is difficult to know why this book was published. Its misleading title covers some short, disconnected excerpts from well-known accounts on conditions in the Cape Colony at the close of the eighteenth century. A full half of the slim volume consists of appendixes, one of them a truncated version of Governor Janssens' famous report. There are also some afterthoughts by the writer on the effort by supporters of the Dutch to hold the line against English and Afrikaans in the nineteenth century. Anyone hoping to learn anything about the subject of the title, however, will return to Van der Merwe and Theal. Typically, the travesty is compounded by the lack of an index.

University of Southern California COLIN RHYS LOVELL

THE TRADING STATES OF THE OIL RIVERS: A STUDY OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN EASTERN NIGERIA. By *G. I. Jones.* (New York: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute. 1963. Pp. ix, 262. $5.60.) Mr. Jones is an anthropologist turned historian. Utilizing both European archives and African evidence, he has attempted to reconstruct the internal political history of several small trading states in the Niger Delta. His story largely parallels that of Kenneth Dike in *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830–1885,* where the emphasis was on external relations. He also analyzes political structure and the reasons for political change; as an anthropologist, he is model building. Although his title seems to cover many tribes and states that were included in the Oil Rivers Protectorate after 1884, Jones concentrates largely on New Calabar and Grand Bonny, bringing in material from Brass, Arochuku, and Old Calabar for comparison. New Calabar and Bonny were Ijo communities, and Ijo social and kinship structure is considered at some length. Economic patterns in the eastern delta are surveyed, especially the development of the palm oil trade and the changing local currencies. The institution of the canoe house, a trading organization built upon social relationships, is examined and explained; its very close connection with political development is well documented. This single institution, indeed, furnishes a major clue to the understanding of these two states. The secession of Jaja Anna Pepple to found Opobo and the rivalries of Calabar and Bonny houses with their resultant destruction of two kingships are well handled. The political outline that emerges remains, however, incomplete and at times confusing. African documentary materials are few, though the author has found some preserved in African hands that have escaped the Public Record Office. His use of oral tradition is cautious, and he makes little attempt to date events. It is to be regretted that he does

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not analyze the oral history of the area or tell us how or from whom he collected it, though he states that this information is to be published elsewhere. He has a plethora of material, and as comparative references are made, the reader is sometimes overwhelmed with the information presented. The book, as a whole, stands as a significant contribution to Nigerian history while at the same time raising questions for further investigation.

Goddard College MARGARET L. BATES

RUANDA-URUNDI, 1884–1919. By *Wm. Roger Louis.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xvii, 290. $6.10.) In recent years numerous brilliant beams of historical scholarship have been cast upon "Darkest Africa," revealing the unknown, exposing the obscure, and illuminating the familiar. *Ruanda-Urundi, 1884–1919,* is just such a valuable addition of impeccable scholarship to this growing enlightenment in African historiography. Drawing his sources from London, Brussels, Bonn, and Ruanda-Urundi itself, Roger Louis has first dealt with the diplomacy of partition as Great Britain, Germany, and the Congo Free State sought to establish their control over the fabulous land of the giant Tusi. To the purists among African historians, it has become fashionable to denounce imperial history as European, not African. Such pious pronouncements are mere sophistry, as narrow as they are foolish, for without Louis' clear analysis of the Kivu dispute and the incredibly complex puzzle of Mfumbiro, the second part, "Ruanda-Urundi and Colonial Rule," would be but an emaciated burden of the abominable white man. Once in Ruanda-Urundi the efforts of the German administrators and the international band of Protestant and Catholic missionaries to bring European civilization to the Tusi ruling minority and the Hutu serfs is meticulously described from the hitherto unexplored archives of the German administration at Usumbura. Like most rulers the Tusi aristocracy seemed neither to learn nor to forget, while the eager Hutu readily accepted the benefits of Western culture, which today seems to take the form of exterminating their former overlords. Unfortunately the chapter on the peoples of Ruanda-Urundi is rather inadequate, and the analysis of German administration could be improved by placing it in the wider context of European colonialism in Africa. The third and final section describing the First World War covers more familiar ground, but the struggle of the Belgians in 1919 to secure these two African territories at the Paris Peace Conference is an original contribution to the fate of Germany's former colonies at the hands of the Allies, marred only by the questionable practice of employing documentary materials without being permitted to reveal their source. Additional maps would have helped the reader follow the complicated maneuvers of the European powers to seize Ruanda-Urundi, and although the archives of the Belgian Foreign Ministry have been examined, no attempt appears to have been made to utilize the archives of the Congo Free State itself. Such omissions should not, however, detract from the penetrating scholarship that has given so much new information on "the pearl of German East Africa."

Williams College ROBERT O. COLLINS

ASIA AND THE EAST

A HISTORY OF THE SIKHS. Volume I, 1469–1839. By *Khushwant Singh.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 419. $10.00.) The Indian tradition has not been one of tranquillity and nonviolence despite religious precepts to that effect. This fact is illustrated by Khushwant Singh, who has elected here "to tell the story of the Sikhs from their inception to the present day." In part, then, the author is traveling again the road taken by Joseph Davey Cunningham in his *History of the*

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Sikhs (1849 and 1955). Cunningham will remain on the shelves, but this is also a work of value. It promises to continue Cunningham's narrative while taking into consideration recent research, and it should provide a useful introduction for the student beginning seriously to explore modern Indian history. The main virtue of this work is that the author has been able to use Persian and Gurmukhi as well as English sources. His treatment of the origin of Sikh doctrine and the contribution of the early Gurus is concise and effective; when he considers the incessant waves of Afghan invasion in the eighteenth century, however, the discussion degenerates into mere chronicle. With the rise of Ranjit Singh Sukerchakia, founder of the Sikh state, interest picks up again. Singh is a distinguished novelist, and this is evident in the clear and graceful style of his writing. The introductory description of the Punjab is almost lyric in quality. Unfortunately, this work lacks solid philosophical underpinning. The author does not pause often enough in his narrative to raise questions, let alone answer them. Was it Banda's agrarian revolt that precipitated the decline of the Mogul Empire as the author suggests, or was it rather Aurangzeb's enervating campaigns in the Deccan? How effective was Mogul administration in the Punjab? How and when were cow worship and caste prejudice reintroduced into the Sikh community? (This extremely important question is dismissed in a footnote.) Why was it that Ranjit Singh was accompanied on his funeral pyre by wives and slave girls when *suttee* had been expressly forbidden by an early Guru? Often Singh tells us that the evidence allows another version of the facts than the one he has selected, but he denies us the reason for his choice. Surely, such selection is based on more than Punjabi pride. In general, social and economic problems receive less attention here than they deserve. One may hope that the forthcoming second volume of this work will be more balanced and analytical.

Los Angeles Valley College MARK NAIDIS

PRĀCĪNA HINDĪ-PATRA SAṂGRAHA [A Collection of Old Hindi Documents]. By *Dhīrendra Varmā.* (Allahabad: University of Allahabad. 1959. Pp. 277, 70, 9.) These documents from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are a welcome addition to source material for modern Indian history, for very little historical material in Hindi has been published. They have all been selected from the records of the Foreign Department of the East India Company's Bengal administration preserved in the National Archives, New Delhi, and are therefore mainly concerned with political relations between the Indian states and the company, but many of the letters illuminate the social and political conditions of the time. The documents are arranged chronologically, rather than by topic or geographic area, which makes for difficult reading, but the introduction provides essential historical detail and biographical identifications. One group of letters is concerned with the affairs of the petty chieftains of Sirguja, Sambhalpur, and Patna in Orissa in the period 1801–1807. As the power of the Bhonsla of Nagpur weakened, these chieftains sought to assert their independence, which brought them into conflict not only with Nagpur, but, more importantly, with the British. The correspondence reflects their surprised desperation as they discovered the intentions of the new power that had established itself in eastern India. Another group of documents deals with a somewhat analogous situation in Bundelkhand, where, after the Treaty of Bassein, the position of the great Maratha chiefs of central India had been challenged. A different kind of problem is illustrated in a series of letters on relationships between Nepal and the small border states that had passed under British control. Conflicts arose as concepts of territorial boundaries and interstate relationships quite foreign to the Nepalese were introduced into the area. A

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synopsis in English of the documents and an index of persons and places add to the value of the collection.

Columbia University AINSLIE T. EMBREE

THE MAKING OF MODERN MALAYA: A HISTORY FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT. By *N. J. Ryan*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xv, 214. $2.35.) As academic interests in Southeast Asia grow, the need increases for introductory reading material suitable for students. This volume goes far toward filling this need for the history of Malaya. By the author's admission (in the preface), the "book does not pretend to any originality of material but rather to a synthesis of present-day views on Malayan history." In this aim he has succeeded and moreover has made his account compendious and lucid. The readability and moderate price of this volume should encourage its distribution and use. If this book goes into a second printing, as it well might in view of the recent interest in Malaysian affairs, it would be advisable to include a bibliography at the end. The present lists of suggested readings following each chapter are insufficient to enable the reader to trace facts and interpretations. The absence of footnotes is undoubtedly purposeful, and for a book at an introductory level may be defensible, but there should then be made available a selected, correlated bibliography. Two praiseworthy features of this book are its telling photographs and period maps which are appropriately inserted in the text.

Russell Sage College ROBERT VAN NIEL

RYUKYU: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE TO OKINAWAN STUDIES. SURVEYING IMPORTANT PRIMARY SOURCES AND WRITINGS IN RYUKYUAN, JAPANESE, CHINESE, AND KOREAN. By *Shunzo Sakamaki*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1963. Pp. xv, 353. $10.10.) This research tool fills a timely need. Long a mere parenthesis in Japanese studies, Ryukyuan studies have, since 1945, attracted a lively scholarly interest in their own right owing to the islands' important strategic position. This meticulously prepared "guide" dispels any doubt of the richness of materials on this onetime Far Eastern maritime center and cultural bazaar. The compiler's preface states his purpose is "to indicate the nature and scope of the literature on Ryukyu in East Asian languages, particularly in the fields of social sciences and the humanities, from earliest times until the summer of 1961." Comprehensive but eschewing the trivial and ephemeral, the work includes some twelve hundred books and eighteen hundred articles, chapters, and monographs in ten broad-gauge chapters. Among the best are those on classical and early modern history and on "literary" arts (literature, music, dance, drama). Perhaps the most genuinely scientific chapter is that on language and linguistics. But numerous entries such as folklore, folkways, economics, and geography represent a predominantly dated brand of social science writing. Within each chapter, the compiler has let the nature of his selections dictate congenial subheads. Items are listed chronologically, first books, then articles, and so on. Parts of works, and articles, are cited by content précis instead of title. Appendixes includes a separate Amami Islands bibliography and a glossary with a vocabulary list. The title index is paginated, but author and periodical indexes are not; they are simply check lists of character equivalents. There are convenient capsule introductions to unfamiliar topics and to significant corpora of primary materials. No cavil is intended in wishing that characters were provided selectively, at least for major entries in the body. Omission of article titles may confound scholars who handle these languages. Some may regret that current newspaper and popular periodical titles are wholly ignored. Yet these and other limitations result from options inevitably faced in a compilation of this magnitude. It is a work

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of high quality that will be welcomed by scholars as the first general reference to studies of the area.

University of Texas JOHN B. CORNELL

CONSPIRACY AT MUKDEN: THE RISE OF THE JAPANESE MILITARY. By *Takehiko Yoshihashi.* [Yale Studies in Political Science, Number 9.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1963. Pp. xvi, 274. $6.50.) This volume succeeds in doing two things: it furnishes an organized context in which to study the conspiracy at Mukden, and it presents a well-authenticated description of the conspiracy itself. In giving the background material, starting with the resignation of the Wakatsuki cabinet in 1927, Professor Yoshihashi was working with material already well researched. Of necessity, he had to follow the trail first set by Takeuchi's *War and Diplomacy in the Japanese Empire.* To the author's credit, he not only brought old categories, such as the London Naval Conference, up to the level of present research material, but he also introduced valuable new categories such as "Minister Saburi's 'Suicide.'" His discussion of Itagaki Seishiro and Ishihara Kanji furnishes new insights. In discussing the conspiracy, Yoshihashi has probably exhausted the story even if he has not established truth for all time. As the author must have discovered, a historical "law" seems to be involved: the greater the number of eyewitnesses, the greater the difficulty in establishing the factual truth. Yoshihashi wisely decided to give the stories without choosing among them.

Stanford University PAUL S. DULL

AMERICAS

THE AMERICAN COLONIAL MIND AND THE CLASSICAL TRADITION: ESSAYS IN COMPARATIVE CULTURE. By *Richard M. Gummere.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 228. $5.25.) Anyone who has read early American diaries and letters has been impressed with the impact of the classics upon the colonial mind. Citations from the classics were made by high and low, farmers, shopkeepers, politicians, and scholars. The tradesman, Mr. Gummere feels, who took his knowledge of the ancients from Rollin or Ferguson, and the scholar, who owned a library of classics, were caught up in a tradition that represents genuine learning and a wide comprehension of the classics. The colonial debt to the ancients is well illustrated in this valuable and noteworthy contribution to scholarship. Gummere has included essays on the founders of Virginia and Massachusetts and an analysis of their knowledge of the classics, on colonial education, philosophy, and literature; comparative studies of the lives of Byrd and Sewall; and a delightful concluding essay summarizing the exchange of ideas between Adams and Jefferson on the Greco-Roman heritage. Gummere has confined his attention to an analysis of the depth and vitality of ancient learning in America. He feels that there is much truth in the generalization once expressed by John C. Miller that the audiences of Samuel Adams and Thomas Hutchinson "knew the literature of Rome far better than they did that of England." He cites as proof the prevailing revolutionary ideas of 1775—the Greek concept of a colony independent of the mother country in everything but loyalty and the Roman idea of the higher law—as examples of the impact of ancient ideas on the everyday thoughts of Americans. He also believes that the Greco-Roman tradition was a basic source of inspiration for the constitution makers of 1787. The author has not attempted to judge the relative importance of English and American literature as competitors of the classics; nor has he considered the opinions of such critics of the classics as Benja-

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min Rush. He has provided fine translations of the many classical passages cited in the text and a useful bibliography and notes for each chapter.

Whittier College JOHN A. SCHUTZ

WHERE, WHEN, AND WHY: SOCIAL STUDIES IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS. By *Martin Mayer.* (New York: Harper and Row. 1963. Pp. xiv, 206. $3.95.) For nine months in 1961–1962, Martin Mayer, author of *The Schools,* armed with a Carnegie grant and an assignment from the American Council of Learned Societies, visited social studies classes over the country, from kindergartens to twelfth grades, to "hunt for the people and the ideas that might work in the social studies the kind of transformation the mathematicians and scientists have wrought in instruction in their subjects in many schools." In this book, the substance of his report to the ACLS, he discusses what each of the social sciences (including history) is presently able to contribute to effective learning in the schools. With the aid of thumbnail documentaries of actual classroom procedures, he describes current teaching methods and materials, commenting on the difficulties and opportunities of reform. Always he expresses his personal opinions freely: for example, he approves of the advanced placement program; he damns the "Task Force Report on Economic Education"; he opposes "Problems" courses in principle, as well as any centering of the social studies on current events. He declares that "of all school subjects, history is the most nearly indispensable to education." The vastness of his field, the brevity of his investigation, and his own layman's relationship to what he observed result in a highly impressionistic account. Clothed in Mayer's lively conversational style, the book is readable, stimulating to thought, and even exciting, but there is the danger that to the uninformed it will convey an authoritativeness and objectivity that so quick and personal an investigation can scarcely merit. This weakness in itself emphasizes the author's often repeated thesis that real reform in the social studies requires the participation of the ablest and best-informed scholars and of the most successful classroom teachers.

Roland Park Country School, Baltimore, Maryland MARGARETA FAISSLER

THE KICKAPOOS: LORDS OF THE MIDDLE BORDER. By *A. M. Gibson.* [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 70.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1963. Pp. xv, 391. $6.95.) Tracing Kickapoo history from the seventeenth to the twentieth century and depicting Indian troubles from the viewpoint of one tribe, this book accounts for the fragmentation and relocation of a primitive people between the Great Lakes and Mexico. Considered formidable warriors, the Kickapoos were useful to imperial rivals. As allies of the French, they attacked the Chickasaws, thus reducing the British threat north of the Ohio River. Because of the desire to remain in possession of Illinois and Indiana lands after the Revolution, they served Britain's interest in regaining the Old Northwest by making forays against the advancing American frontier, and they were employed by Spain following the Louisiana Purchase as a buffer against further United States expansion. There is a concise treatment of the Indian policies practiced by the republic of Texas under Houston and Lamar; Texans are shown to have suffered border raids over a period of twenty years as a consequence of an unprovoked attack on northern Kickapoos en route to Mexico in 1865, thus causing federal troops to invade Mexican territory on at least twelve occasions. These depredations were sanctioned by officials of Coahuila who aided the Indians in disposing of stolen livestock and in ransoming white captives—for a price! The latter part of the volume portrays efforts to bring the Mexican Kickapoos back under United States jurisdiction by locating them on a reservation in Indian Territory; their resistance to assimilation on religious grounds; their obstreperous

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behavior toward employees of the Indian Bureau; their debasement and alcoholism, as a means of escape, in connection with the opening of Oklahoma to white settlement; and the land allotment swindles involving Kansas and Colorado senators. Some shortcomings of analysis and interpretation are apparent. The reader is not told much about Kickapoo reasons for giving support to George Rogers Clark in preference to Henry Hamilton at Vincennes, and the author does not say what effect news of the Franco-American treaty had upon the Kickapoo mind, although John D. Barnhart's work is cited. The statement that Britain's chief reason for keeping the Northwest free of American control in 1790 was economic ignores the thesis of Alfred L. Burt, whose *United States, Great Britain and British North America* is omitted from the extensive bibliography. Concerning the Grant era, representatives of the Society of Friends did not dominate "the official positions in the Bureau of Indian Affairs," but were in charge of the northern and central superintendencies. Also, there were not "two divergent programs . . . in operation—the 'Force Policy' of the War Department and the 'Peace Policy' of the Bureau of Indian Affairs." (See my article, "The Making of Grant's 'Peace Policy,'" *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XXXVII [No. 4, 1959–60], or my book, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation,* just published.) As a history of one tribe, *The Kickapoos* is an extremely interesting and scholarly book; with rare exceptions, the prose is clear and readable.

St. Olaf College HENRY E. FRITZ

COLONIAL GEORGIA: A STUDY IN BRITISH IMPERIAL POLICY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Trevor Richard Reese.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 172. $4.75.) In this brief but scholarly study, Dr. Reese has undertaken to put "the Colony of Georgia in its historical setting" and to assess "its significance in the development of the first British Empire." The author, born in England and with degrees from the University of Sheffield and the University of London, only recently returned to his native soil after serving for several years as a lecturer in history in Australian universities. He is now at the University of Hull, where he is initiating studies "in United States-British Commonwealth relations." The "main influence upon Britain's commercial policy" during the period of "the old colonial system" in the eighteenth century, Reese points out, "was the concept of a self-sufficient empire." Georgia "fitted this scheme admirably," producing "raw materials" for the mother country in exchange for manufactured goods. Timber and naval stores, as well as rice, indigo, tobacco, and some other trade articles, the colony could furnish quite easily. It resisted, however, the pressure of empire policy makers to engage in the production of raw silk, which England needed but which, from the colonial point of view, was not profitable despite subsidies. Aside from commercial considerations, two other chief reasons appear to have led to the establishment of the Georgia colony. First there was the policy, made possible by parliamentary modifications of individual rights, to "dump" prisoners and other "undesirables" into the colony, thus avoiding the necessity of dealing with such individuals at home. Of even greater importance, perhaps, was the creation of the colony as a base of operations against Spanish, French, and Indian enemies. In the realization of these objectives, Georgia effectively served the Empire, although its population was heterogeneous and sparse, numbering scarcely 10,000 souls in 1760, 3,600 of whom were Negroes. In spite of these major contributions, the average Englishman of that day, according to Reese, knew little of what was being done and cared even less. Adequate footnotes and an excellent bibliography add to the worth of this study.

University of Maryland VERNE E. CHATELAIN

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WESTWARD VISION: THE STORY OF THE OREGON TRAIL. By *David Lavender.* [The American Trails Series.] (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1963. Pp. 424. $8.95.) The title assigned this book reflects good judgment for it is not limited to the location and use of a trail, but is rather a survey of the thoughts and actions of all those interested in the Pacific Northwest from the earliest time until the establishment of territorial government. First, there are the dreamers and the schemers, from France's John Law to Wales's John Evans but with emphasis on the Vérendryes. This is followed by a discussion of the Missouri-Columbia River route that was proved unsatisfactory for emigrant travel by Lewis and Clark, the mountain men, and the Astorians. A third section of the book concentrates on the theme of the discovery of the South Pass "gateway" and various sections of the trail to Oregon by fur men, trading post operators, and those "salvation bound" with Jason Lee. The final chapters deal with the migration of home seekers in which the careers of the missionary couples, the Marcus Whitmans and the Henry Spauldings, loom large. This sketchy résumé of the book's contents indicates that there is little new in it for the historian of the United States, certainly nothing for the specialist in western America. However, the bibliography is evidence that the author has examined the significant secondary works and select articles in historical periodicals. More important, he has exhaustively mined the documents and memoirs—mostly published, some rare, and a few in manuscript—to procure human interest materials on the participants in his story. As usual, David Lavender's contribution lies in his ability to synthesize scattered evidence. The interpretation is minimal, the analysis lacking in depth. However, he writes well, is a master in sustaining reader interest in the narrative, and will thereby convey the historical story of the Northwest to a far wider audience than most professional historians can hope to reach. The most casual examination of the volumes in "The American Trails Series" reveals that the general editor has allowed his authors so much leeway in their artistic creation that the series is suffering from a lack of unity and structural plan.

University of California, Davis W. Turrentine Jackson

VIRGINIA HOUSE OF BURGESSES, 1750–1774. By *Lucille Griffith.* (Northport, Ala.: Colonial Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 245. $10.00.) In this small book Professor Griffith has attempted to cover two somewhat divergent topics: the growth of the House of Burgesses to political dominance in Virginia after 1750, and the election process in colonial Virginia. The first topic is handled in too brief and too general a fashion to allow for any penetrating analysis of legislative growth. But in her study of elections and electioneering the author has dug deeply into county records and has confirmed the long-held supposition that, despite property qualifications, a high percentage of Virginians was eligible to and did vote in Burgesses elections. Nearly 60 per cent of the white males over sixteen were freeholders; 40 per cent of these cast votes in 1755. There was no discernible difference in the percentage of freeholders and voters between tidewater and piedmont counties. Elections turned on personalities rather than issues, factions, or class distinctions. The appendix contains sixty poll lists—all the extant returns for prerevolutionary elections. Unfortunately both author and reader are ill-served by the slipshod printing and editorial work of the publisher.

University of Virginia David Alan Williams

THE NEW DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA: TRAVELS OF FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA IN THE UNITED STATES, 1783–84. Translated by *Judson P. Wood.* Edited by *John S. Ezell.* [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 40.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1963. Pp. xxxii, 217. $4.95.) Francisco de Miranda is a well-known name to students of our early interest in the nascent countries

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of Spanish America. Less familiar are his observations on the United States, its customs and people, recorded during a journey through the Carolinas, the Middle States, and New England in 1783–1784. Miranda left Cuba rather abruptly with the design of returning to Spain to appeal to the king for relief from an essentially political conviction for misuse of funds and other charges. On arrival in this country he turned instead to intrigue for Spanish American independence. Well-supplied with letters of introduction and possessed of personal charm and *savoir-faire,* he stopped in the principal towns and met many important people as he moved north, omitting Virginia and Maryland. The present volume, the first full English translation of his American journal, is of considerable interest to social historians. Miranda discreetly made little reference to his political designs. He discussed the people he met, candidly and sometimes a bit acidly commenting on the intelligence and ability of the men and the charm and educational attainments of the women. He considered himself a connoisseur of the fair sex. He met many national leaders. Washington, he thought, as one of many revolutionary figures, received more than his share of popular admiration. Miranda's judgments of the diplomatic corps in Philadelphia were perhaps shaded by his own political views. He was an observant traveler whose remarks on inns might have served as a hotel directory for the later 1780's. As a military man he examined battle sites and fortifications with considerable acumen. Few institutions, political or educational, escaped his attention. He visited Yale, Harvard, and the colleges of New Jersey and Rhode Island, noted their faculty and equipment, and was not always flattering in his judgments. Of particular interest are his descriptions of social events from sleigh rides to concerts. The journal is pleasantly gossipy. Miranda's observations will not perhaps lead to a reinterpretation of the period, but will provide an entertaining picture of places and people and add to our knowledge of social detail. The editor's notes identify virtually all the hundreds of individuals named, while the carefully selected illustrations of the towns add much to the pleasure of the reader.

Mount Holyoke College MARY S. BENSON

THE TRANSFORMATION OF RHODE ISLAND, 1790–1860. By *Peter J. Coleman.* (Providence, R. I.: American History Research Center, Brown University Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 314. $9.00.) It is not an easy task to tell a story whose general outlines are reasonably well known and at the same time retain the reader's interest. With skillful writing and thoughtful analysis, Coleman surmounts such difficulties in this book. Rhode Island's development was not sharply different from that of New England as a whole. In the eighteenth century its businessmen concentrated on the international trade, but in time transferred their efforts to the manufacture of cotton textiles. As in the rest of New England, Rhode Island's native-born Protestant population declined in importance with the influx of Irish and French-Canadian immigrants. Similarly the state reflected the social problems, political tensions, and economic instability that inevitably accompany rapid industrialization and urbanization. With the use of legislative records, census data, some manuscripts and newspapers, and an extensive examination of existing literature, Coleman provides a depth and insight that could not be achieved if he treated all New England. To illustrate, he shows that Rhode Island had a much greater social and economic diversity than is generally known. His presentation of Rhode Island's commercial activity and early industrial development is particularly well done since he concentrates on specific individuals and enterprises. One theme that runs throughout the book is the critical role played by freewheeling business leaders in the development of the state's economy. In a brief epilogue it is suggested that the loss of this traditional entrepreneurial spirit is the primary factor in explaining Rhode Island's economic difficulties in the twentieth century. This latter analysis is brief and

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not convincing, but it detracts little from the main story which is consistently a well-researched, well-written piece of work.

University of British Columbia NORBERT MACDONALD

SCHOLAR IN THE WILDERNESS: FRANCIS ADRIAN VAN DER KEMP. By *Harry F. Jackson.* (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 356. $6.95.) Dr. Jackson's careful reconstruction of the life of Van der Kemp exemplifies how the career of a minor figure can illuminate significant facets of the nation's history: the American impact upon Holland in the age of democratic revolution; frontier development; the beginnings of scientific inquiry especially in agriculture and geology; the struggle for the Erie Canal; the establishment of a "free" church in Oldenbarneveld, about fifteen miles from Finney's "Western" revival a generation later. No closet scholar, this Leiden preacher fought the stadholder's forces with pen and sword, served as justice of the peace, and ran a farm. But his importance lies primarily in his correspondence with such notables as John Adams, a friend of forty years standing, Jefferson, De Witt Clinton, and John Quincy Adams. Van der Kemp shared an informed opinion upon an extraordinary range of topics with his correspondents and many learned journals. His translations of the Dutch records of New York were, however, somewhat less than scholarly. The author has given us a rounded life, and the publisher, an attractive book. The inclusion of a fascinating excerpt from Van der Kemp's trip through central New York in 1792 makes one regret that this inquisitive mind did not devote more attention to describing his community and less to the Greeks, theologians, and scientists. If he had done so, we might have had an upstate Crèvecœur.

Hamilton College DAVID MALDWYN ELLIS

WILLIAM MATTHEWS: PRIEST AND CITIZEN. By *Joseph T. Durkin, S. J.* Foreword by *John W. McCormack.* (New York: Benziger Brothers. 1963. Pp. vii, 162. $4.95.) A just appraisal of this biography of the first pastor of a Roman Catholic church in Washington poses difficulties for a non-Catholic, if only because the text includes considerable religious commentary and detailed accounts of episodes of minor significance for the lay historian. A tendency to exaggerate the civic importance of such narrowly restricted enterprises as the Washington Library Association, mistakenly labeled a "public" library, and to overstate the innovating features of St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum, which followed the pattern already established in the nonsectarian Washington Orphan Asylum, weakens the book, as do repetitious encomiums of its subject. Yet the slim volume contains valuable side lights on Washington in the first half of the nineteenth century. Father Matthews emerges as a devout churchman, obedient to his superiors in the Catholic hierarchy, who was at the same time an able, domineering, generous, public-spirited American aristocrat literally "to the manor born." His exceptional influence in the community, manifestly derived in some measure from a background that permitted him to meet and deal as an equal with the leading men of his day and from personal resources that enabled him to turn over ten thousand dollars of his own money to the Visitation School, also inevitably heightened his standing in the capital. He remains a notable figure, testifying to the civilized qualities of the city he helped to shape.

Washington, D. C. CONSTANCE MCLAUGHLIN GREEN

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN BADOLLET AND ALBERT GALLATIN, 1804–1836. Edited by *Gayle Thornbrough.* [Indiana Historical Society Publications, Volume XXII.] (Indianapolis: the Society. 1963. Pp. 372. $3.00.) From their student

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days together in Geneva, John Badollet and Albert Gallatin were lifetime friends. Gallatin was first to emigrate to America, but he was soon joined by Badollet, who settled near him in western Pennsylvania in the 1780's. The careers of the two men soon took sharply different directions. Gallatin's political career and his marriage into the prominent Nicholson family of New York carried him away from the frontier, while Badollet married a local girl and remained on his farm on the Monongahela until 1804, when Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin appointed his friend as register of the newly created land office at Vincennes, capital of the Indiana Territory. It is with Badollet's appointment to the Vincennes post that the present publication begins, and the most important letters included relate to life in the territory. The major portion of the correspondence falls in the period 1804–1812. With the exception of one letter in 1816, there is a gap in the correspondence until 1823, after which there are long intervals between letters. By far, most of the letters are from Badollet to Gallatin. Badollet was a sensitive observer with an intellectual bent, and his letters are rich in comments on life and society in Vincennes, Indian relations, the controversy over slavery in the territory, and his opinions of politics and of Governor William Henry Harrison; they are also interesting in revealing Badollet's great dislike of the governor, the territory, and the people there. As late as 1823 he was still referring to being exiled to Vincennes. The limited number of Gallatin letters included here, in relation to the extensive Gallatin papers, makes this publication, as it was intended to be, primarily a contribution to material on the Indiana Territory rather than an important addition to Gallatin literature. All of the correspondence here published is from the Gallatin Papers in the New-York Historical Society. The brief introduction is informative; the editorial work is competent.

University of Richmond NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR.

PIONEER PRINTER: SAMUEL BANGS IN MEXICO AND TEXAS. By *Lota M. Spell.* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 230. $5.00.) Samuel Bangs, first printer in the Spanish province of Texas and in each of the Spanish-Mexican eastern interior provinces, has now received the recognition he has so long deserved. After years of careful research among original source materials in depositories located in Spain, England, Mexico, and the United States, Mrs. Lota M. Spell has presented in proper historical perspective the fascinating story of a Bostonian who commenced the career of printer in Francisco Xavier Mina's revolutionary army on the pirate controlled island of Galveston. Saved from execution by his profession, Bangs, as a prisoner of the Spaniards at Monterrey, was required to operate Mina's captured press for the government. After the overthrow of Spanish rule in Mexico, Bangs operated the same press for the new regime at Saltillo and Monterrey until 1823, when he was given a modest bounty for his services in behalf of Mexican independence and permitted to leave the country. After his return to Boston and after a brief sojourn as a printer and publisher in New York, however, he yearned to return to the easy life of Mexico. In 1827 he became public printer at Victoria for the state of Tamaulipas, a position he held for ten years. In June 1838 the first newspaper at Galveston, the *Commercial Intelligencer,* "published weekly by Samuel Bangs for the proprietors," made its appearance, and thereafter for most of his life Bangs was associated with printing and publishing in Texas. *Pioneer Printer* is more than a biography of a printer, importer, and distributor of presses, forms, and dies for casting type, and of a teacher of the art of printing. It is the story of early newspaper publishing in northern Mexico and in Texas at Galveston, Houston, and Corpus Christi. It increases our knowledge of the fascinating history of northern Mexico (including Texas) in the first half of the nineteenth century. The reader is given the picture of an honest, courageous, likable man

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imbued with an unquenchable optimism, energy, and perseverance in the face of repeated misfortunes, who set a high tone of ethics for his profession. Carefully documented, indexed, and entertainingly written, *Pioneer Printer* contains an excellent bibliography on Bangs and early printing in northern Mexico and Texas; it has 4 maps, 15 reproductions of specimens of Bangs's printing, and a tentative listing of 359 "Extant Specimens of Samuel Bangs' Printing." The book will be of particular interest to students of American journalism and to Mexican and Texan historians. The nonspecialist will find it both readable and enjoyable.

Texas A&M University JOSEPH MILTON NANCE

RIP FORD'S TEXAS. By *John Salmon Ford.* Edited with an introduction and commentary by *Stephen B. Oates.* [Personal Narratives of the West.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1963. Pp. xlviii, 519. $7.50.) This volume is an abridgment and partial reorganization of the thirteen hundred handwritten pages that comprise the memoirs of a versatile Texan who had "a brilliant though rather erratic career as a public servant" and professional man, beginning in 1836. John Salmon (Rip) Ford was at different times a doctor, lawyer, surveyor, newspaper editor, trailmaker, Texas Ranger captain, Confederate cavalry colonel, cattle and hide inspector, mayor of two Texas towns, legislator, and Texas history promoter. For almost fifty years he was involved in nearly every important Texas political and military event. Ford's writings about his life and times vary in style from the lively to the orotund and formal. Certain sections, such as his accounts of town life in the republic of Texas and of his experiences in the lower Rio Grande country during the Civil War, are extremely readable. The value of these revelations as a historical source has been considerably enhanced by the editor's sensible arrangement of the Ford manuscripts and a well-written introduction.

Tulane University WILLIAM R. HOGAN

THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE DANISH LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN AMERICA: A STUDY IN IMMIGRANT HISTORY. By *Paul C. Nyholm.* [Studies in Church History, Second Series, Number 16.] (Copenhagen: Institute for Danish Church History; distrib. by Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis. 1963. Pp. 480. Cloth $7.50, paper $6.50.) The United Church and the Danish Church, two separate synods, belong to the history of Danish immigrants. Their pastors guarded parochialism with prophylactics like the Danish communities in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Nebraska; the Danish language; the Danish press; and special classes for Danish children in private and public schools. Their efforts were not negative, narrow, or un-American. They frequently averred that Danes could serve America best by remaining true to the Danish language and the Danish culture. In 1961 the United Church merged with the American Lutheran Church. In 1963 the Danish Church joined with Swedes, Finns, and fellow Americans to form the Lutheran Church in America. Thus, the story of Americanization had its last chapters written, and a hundred years of struggle to remain Danish ended. Here is the theme of Paul Nyholm's book. Despite its evidence of serious scholarship, this book is more to be consulted than to be read. Seldom does the writer of organizational history manage a literary triumph to sustain reader interest. Perhaps aware of this problem, Nyholm has provided tables, encyclopedic biographies, maps, and illustrations. In a special show of kindness to the reader wishing his organizational material predigested, the author appends to each of his nine chapters a brief summary. Since much of the original source material is in Danish, these pages provide a simplified passport to the world of the Danish immigrant as that world evolved from the 1840's to the present time. Nyholm, an immigrant from Denmark

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in 1922, has been a pastor and a teacher in Danish schools in America. Equipped with this passport, the reader finds himself in the hands of a knowledgeable guide.

Augustana College JAMES IVERNE DOWIE

FENOLLOSA: THE FAR EAST AND AMERICAN CULTURE. By *Lawrence W. Chisolm.* [Yale Publications in American Studies, Number 8. Published under the direction of the American Studies Program.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 297. $7.50.) This is a valuable book: concerned with a significant theme, intercontinental in scope; written in relation to a variety of cultural facets, Oriental and Western; based on wide-ranging research; developed about the life of an independent, original personality; and interesting. In this first biographical study Professor Chisolm has undertaken "to see Fenollosa's career as a whole and to explore the continuing life and importance of his ideas." The life of Ernest Fenollosa, believer in the ideal of greater cultural unity between East and West, historian, critic, philosopher, and poet, emerges amidst a surprising array of ideas, activities, and projects associated with his career. Among numerous ones discussed by the author and woven with nice balance into the larger picture are: Fenollosa's efforts to revive Japanese regard for their own artistic heritage; his emphasis on the contributions that Japanese and Chinese art can make to the meaning of human life and the interrelatedness of the human family; his teaching in Japan; his career as curator of the new Japanese department in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; his long association with Charles L. Freer and the accumulation of the Freer Collection; his intellectual partnership with Arthur W. Dow and the consequent impact on art education in the United States; his career as a polished lecturer on the Winona Lake platform for years and his appearances before audiences from Minnesota to Massachusetts; his scholarship; and his essential and continuing concern with beauty in art as a means to beauty in life. The quiet, competent, supporting role of Mary Scott Fenollosa in these activities is sympathetically presented, especially her labors in completing for publication after Fenollosa's death that extraordinary work, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art.* In his concern for the continuing life and importance of Fenollosa's ideas, Chisolm has undertaken one of the more difficult tasks of the student of intercultural contacts and consequences. In the vigorous and productive career of Fenollosa, we have an illustration of the varied and stimulating results of ideas studied and taught in a comparative cultural setting. It is difficult, nevertheless, to comprehend satisfactorily the results of Fenollosa's labors to bring the East and West closer together through an understanding of the seminal ideas of Japanese and Chinese art. Among the persons whose careers were affected by Fenollosa and whose ideas became a part of the American cultural mosaic were Max Weber, Ezra Pound, and Georgia O'Keeffe. Beyond brief accounts of the work of these persons, Chisolm concludes with the Fenollosan vision on a question that has intrigued other American critics: the Far East is the symbol "of the future growth of a world civilization in which East and West would rise to new heights." The readers of this book will enjoy it and profit from its study.

Michigan State University WALTER R. FEE

A GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS OF THE BANCROFT LIBRARY. Volume I, PACIFIC AND WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS (EXCEPT CALIFORNIA). Edited by *Dale L. Morgan* and *George P. Hammond.* [Bancroft Library Publications, Bibliographical Series.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press for the Library. 1963. Pp. vii, 379. $15.00.) Begun as a personal working collection, the Bancroft Library for a long time was administered casually and informally. But after a hundred years of growth and grooming, it now, under the director-

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ship of George P. Hammond, has accepted more of the routines and efficiencies of a library, among them the projection of a series of guides and calendars. The present volume, to be followed by like treatments of California and of Mexico and Latin America, inventories manuscript holdings on the other western states triangularly bound by Texas, Alaska, and Hawaii. The entries are as filed. Some consist of a single item; others cover sizable groups, which are described in a sentence or as much as a page. The *Guide* thus is a finding tool that will assist research on every one of these states. It also reveals much about Hubert Howe Bancroft's collecting from about 1860 to 1890 and about the changes in emphasis and method since the University of California became the proprietor. For Hawaii, university acquisitions considerably outnumber those credited to Bancroft. For Nevada the score is about even. For Texas, which has thirty-six pages of the *Guide,* the later acquisitions are but few; for Colorado, with sixty-seven pages, they are only four in some four hundred titles. For the non-California West as a whole, it appears that the Bancroft's manuscript strength rests mainly on the work of the founder—those collected for the writing of his *Histories,* those generated in the direct selling of these books, and those that accrued in the biographical research for the *Chronicles of the Builders.*

University of California, Los Angeles JOHN W. CAUGHEY

LINCOLN AND THE FIRST SHOT. By *Richard N. Current.* [Critical Periods of History.] (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1963. Pp. 223. $3.95.) In reworking the story of the Fort Sumter crisis and the beginning of the Civil War, Richard Current casts the familiar facts of the matter into a "presentist" framework by considering the skein of events and the shaping of policy in terms of the "first strike" doctrine. By doing so, the crisis months of March and April 1861 and the dilemma faced by the Lincoln administration take on a relevancy uncommon to most treatments of the subject. Following Lincoln as he moves toward a solution of the awful problem confronting him, Current takes his thesis from a statement by John F. Kennedy: "Our arms will never be used to strike the first blow in any attack. It is our national tradition." The author, placing the Lincoln policy squarely within the "national tradition," steers a course somewhere between the Ramsdell Lincoln-as-*provocateur* thesis and the Randall-Potter Lincoln-as-conciliatory-miscalculator interpretation. According to Current, Lincoln was scarcely confident that the peace might be kept, though he did think there was "a bare chance of its being preserved for the time being." Conversely, he did not deliberately goad the Confederates into shooting, thereby bringing upon themselves the onus of starting the war. What Lincoln did, once he settled upon a policy, was to take the position that war was most likely, and when it came the first strike must be delivered by the other side. Current argues lucidly and persuasively, but modestly, as he writes that his "account does not claim to provide the final solution." Probably no definitive solution will ever be achieved, certainly not until new methods are devised (and accepted) that will allow the historian to pierce better the minds of his subjects, because there comes a point beyond which the documents coupled with an orthodox reading can help us no longer.

University of North Carolina PETER F. WALKER

FLORIDA DURING THE CIVIL WAR. By *John E. Johns.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 265. $6.00.) Professor Johns has written an excellent monograph on the history of Florida during the years 1861–1865. After seceding from the Union in January 1861, Floridians were immediately faced with the problem of seizing Federal posts within the borders of the state. Installations at Chattahoochie and St. Augustine were successfully taken, but the two most formidable Federal strongholds

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(Fort Pickens and Key West) remained in Union hands throughout the war. Florida in the Confederacy faced essentially the same problems that plagued other southern states: raising and equipping troops, maintaining a tolerable standard of living in spite of the blockade, collecting taxes, enforcing laws, providing an adequate court system, struggling against financial chaos, coping with dissident Unionists, conducting business with the Confederate government, and all the while attempting to provide the food, clothing, and medical supplies so necessary in maintaining morale on the home front. It is an interesting note that there was very little manufacturing done in Florida during the war; saltmaking was the largest industry to develop during these years. It is also of interest that there was comparatively little railroad development probably because Florida was not a major theater of combat. No slave revolts occurred during the war, and, with the exception of Texas, Florida furnished fewer Negroes to the Union Army than any other Confederate state. Beginning in early 1862, Federal raids against selected posts in Florida were begun and were continued until the end of the war. While these raids did not materially affect Florida's contribution to the Confederate war effort or cause serious loss of life or property, they did cause considerable uneasiness and insecurity. For the military enthusiast, there is a detailed account of the Battle of Olustee (February 20, 1864), the major Civil War battle fought on Florida soil. The ceremonial raising of the United States flag at Tallahassee on May 20, 1865, marked the end of Confederate Florida. In Johns's view, Florida was defeated not only by superior numbers and material but also because it had lost the will to fight.

University of North Carolina, Greensboro OTIS A. SINGLETARY

NAVAL SURGEON: BLOCKADING THE SOUTH, 1862–1866. THE DIARY OF DR. SAMUEL PELLMAN BOYER. Edited by *Elinor Barnes* and *James A. Barnes*. Introduction by *Allan Nevins*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1963. Pp. xxv, 390. $10.00.) NAVAL SURGEON: REVOLT IN JAPAN, 1868–1869. THE DIARY OF DR. SAMUEL PELLMAN BOYER. Edited by *Elinor Barnes* and *James A. Barnes*. Introduction by *Allan Nevins*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1963. Pp. xxviii, 279. $6.95.) In the spring of 1862, three months after graduating from Jefferson Medical College, the author of these diaries joined the US Navy. For two years he served aboard a ship of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, operating off the stretch of coast between Charleston and Amelia Island; transferred to new construction, he spent the final year of the war in the North Carolina sounds. The diary, overwhelmingly day-to-day in nature, reflects the monotony of months of blockade duty ("Dull! Dull!! Dull!!!") punctuated only by a single brief engagement and by the capture of one small prize. The seasons come and go, and with them the mosquitoes and the sand flies; sick call is held, and the doctor prescribes; boat expeditions and foraging parties go forth; visits are made to abandoned plantations; much time is spent in reading (Victor Hugo and Sterne for choice) and in waiting for mail. Comment on the world outside the man-of-war is sparse, but the diarist approves of Old Abe, Chase, and McClellan (the "people's favorite") and is contemptuous of Jeff Davis. Seeing in slavery the cause of the war and friendly to individual contrabands, he is nevertheless resentful of the demands of Frederick Douglass and ends an opponent of Radical Reconstruction and a supporter of Seymour against Grant. The second volume takes Boyer to the Orient, by way of Panama and San Francisco, for an eighteen-month tour on the Asiatic station. New sights and sounds replace the boredom of the blockade, and the reading lists disappear. The journal contains information on transpacific travel, on civil conflict in Japan, on a pioneer visit to Kyoto, on piracy, on the curio market. It conveys, too, a sense of the pre-Mahan period of naval history in which detachments of various Occidental fleets cooperated to police the distant waters of the globe. But the most powerful impression

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is of that inport recreation which, in the Far East, produced an appalling venereal rate in fo'c'sle and wardroom alike, and which made the doctor, himself repeatedly buboed, one of his own best patients. In greater or lesser measure these diaries provide material on contemporary medical practice, on the old navy, on the meeting of East and West, and on the nineteenth-century American *moyen sensuel*. The volumes are well produced. The editing, clearly a labor of love, reflects great diligence.

Swarthmore College JAMES A. FIELD, JR.

THE GALVANIZED YANKEES. By *D. Alexander Brown*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1963. Pp. 243. $5.50.) This is a somewhat pedestrian account of six regiments of infantry, composed largely but not entirely of Confederate prisoners of war, who, after taking the oath of allegiance, were allowed to enlist in the Union Army for service against the Indians of the Great Plains. Although they have been largely forgotten by historians, they did render valuable and efficient service. Despite skepticism as to their value and legal questions as to oaths and allegiances, they were enlisted, the Sioux outbreak of 1862 apparently bringing the subject to a climax and forcing the decision. The term "Galvanized Yankees" originally applied to captured Union soldiers who turned Confederate, and only gradually changed, thus furnishing another example of the shifting quality of American nomenclature. The author takes each regiment in turn and describes where it went and what it did. As a result there is considerable repetition. Nearly all of the officers were Union men; the best-known was Henry Maynadier who was with the Yellowstone River exploring party just before the Civil War. There is a considerable amount of detail, some of it superfluous. The equivalent of "Company B marched from here to there and back again" is repeated so many times as to become wearisome. Yet there are other places where more detail would be welcomed. There are many sketches of persons and places—an over-all picture of the good and the bad, and differing conditions of army life during the period. The book is well researched, especially in source materials, and is a competent account. Although it can be recommended to students of both the Civil War and of the Indian wars, it is not one of Mr. Brown's better books.

Eastern Washington State College EDGAR I. STEWART

THE BATTLE OF PLATTE BRIDGE. By *J. W. Vaughn*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1963. Pp. x, 132. $3.95.) During July 1865, in reprisal for the massacres of Indians at Killdeer Mountain, Dakota Territory, and Sand Creek, Colorado, the Sioux, Arapaho, and Cheyennes joined in an attack on Platte Bridge Station on the Oregon Trail. Although handicapped by internal dissension and a great shortage of ammunition and horses, the army troops fought courageously against overwhelming numbers. The Indians, suffering grave losses, abandoned the offensive and returned home. In his research, Mr. Vaughn used all written and oral sources, even employing a metal detector to locate the exact battle sites. The result is an excellent account of a classic small unit action.

United States Air Force Academy M. HAMLIN CANNON

CARROLL WRIGHT AND LABOR REFORM: THE ORIGIN OF LABOR STATISTICS. By *James Leiby*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 46.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 242. $4.75.) Carroll Wright gained national reputation for his statistical expertness and his knowledge of the "labor question" as head of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics (1873–1888), as first federal Commissioner of Labor (1885–1905), as editor or director of more than one hundred volumes of official government reports, as author of numerous articles and books, and

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as member of the US Strike Commission (1894) and the Anthracite Coal Commission (1902). Leiby's monograph examines critically Wright's public career, the sources of his ideas about industrial society and "labor reform," and the early development of social and economic statistics and the government bureaus specializing in that work. Three themes deserve mention. The detailed treatment of the founding of the Massachusetts bureau (1869) and its relationship to the *post-bellum* Bay State labor movement is expert. Its early directors, enemies of the "wages system," were replaced by lawyer Wright, who shifted the bureau's emphasis out of "politics," rejected "panaceas" and "theorizing," made its findings less controversial, and gained national stature for himself. A second theme explores Wright's social thought and convincingly demonstrates how his early New England experiences, especially his schooling, his father's Universalist theology, and his civic experiences in Reading, Massachusetts (a town by-passed by the factory system), shaped a belief that "a benevolent and omnipotent providence [was] at work in history" and that "evil and discontent" were "merely essential goads to progress." Wright's self-proclaimed role was to enlighten the "public" and thereby effect orderly social progress. The third important theme relates to the second. Wright's experiences supported "assumptions . . . congenial with his melioristic religious views and [his] . . . ambition to identify himself with the public," but blinded him to important new realities and prevented him from "contributing to the advance of statistical or social theory." This point is exhaustingly discussed and leads Leiby to conclude that Wright, an "unusually able" public servant, was not interested in the "relationship of statistical fact to social theory" or "in helping the victims of the industrial problem." Instead, he was "really interested in *change*" and saw himself as giving an anxious public "reassurance on the authority of 'scientific facts.'" Leiby finds "his limitations as significant as his achievements." These themes are well developed, but the author is less convincing in claiming that Wright's "beliefs and hopes . . . were widely shared by his contemporaries." To which contemporaries is he referring? Gompers? Cleveland? Debs? the Adams brothers? Carnegie? The absence of comparative evidence leaves this conclusion hanging. Perhaps this results from excessive reliance on Wright's own writings at the expense of other contemporary sources.

State University of New York, Buffalo HERBERT G. GUTMAN

THE MATADOR LAND AND CATTLE COMPANY. By *W. M. Pearce*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 244. $5.95.) During the last quarter of the nineteenth century British cattle companies participated heavily in what General Brisbin labeled the "beef bonanza." Prominent among them was the Matador Land and Cattle Company, Limited, formed by a group of Dundee Scots in 1882. Beginning with a purchase of about 100,000 acres held in fee simple, range rights to 1,500,000 additional acres, and some 40,000 head of cattle, the company spread northward from Texas to the Dakotas, Montana, and, for about fifteen years, into Canada. The Scots, known for their appreciation of a penny, literally poured money into this and other western cattle companies. Some of them lost heavily in the "big die" of 1886–1887 and were never the same afterward. The Matador also suffered, but in 1891 its backers made the very intelligent move of hiring Murdo Mackenzie, then manager of the British-owned Prairie Land and Cattle Company. He moved the Matador's American headquarters to his home at Trinidad, Colorado, and for the next thirty-five years he directed its destinies so skillfully that Theodore Roosevelt called him "the most influential of cattlemen." In 1951, when the company's liquidation began, its property was valued at nineteen million dollars, and it remained the only large foreign-owned organization devoted to raising American cattle. William Pearce, academic vice-president of Texas Technological College at Lubbock, found most of his story in the Matador's files, a collection of some 400,000

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separate items. To it he added three other unpublished accounts (two of which were M.A. theses) and a relatively small list of published books and articles. While some criticism might be leveled at an almost exclusive use of a single source, the magnitude of the company's papers somewhat softens the charge. This carefully drawn study, well executed by the publishers and with a handsome dust jacket created by the talented Joe Beeler, is a most welcome addition to the story of the western cattle companies.

University of Colorado ROBERT G. ATHEARN

MISSION OF CHANGE IN ALASKA: ESKIMOS AND MORAVIANS ON THE KUSKOKWIM. By *Wendell H. Oswalt.* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1963. Pp. x, 170. $6.00.) Anthropologist Wendell Oswalt of the University of California traces the mutual impact of American Moravian missionaries and lower Kuskokwim River Eskimos in southwest Alaska from 1884 to 1925. Besides field inspections and interviews, he has used contemporary missionary accounts (many in the Huntington Library) to weigh the role of the Moravians as agents of acculturation. Employing a mass of diaries, letters, and sketches, much periodical literature, and a minimum (happily) of the secondary publications that afflict Alaskana, Oswalt has constructed the confrontation artistically. We can only hope for more studies like this one before we can synthetically assess the acculturation among the Alaskan aborigines. The author concludes: since ancient ways quickly and peacefully succumbed to "Euro-American" influences, "the introduction of a new and complex religious system into a primitive society need not tear asunder the lives of the primitive peoples involved." This seems oversimplified, precisely because the aboriginal Eskimo did not possess the sense of a Supreme Being and of the hereafter; there was little to uproot. As for the place of the Christian missionaries in general, were they not merely *a* force, the importance of which was not greater than many another Western influence?

Seattle University GERARD G. STECKLER, S.J.

THE ORIGINS OF TEAPOT DOME: PROGRESSIVES, PARTIES, AND PETROLEUM, 1909–1921. By *J. Leonard Bates.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 278. $7.50.) In most books "Teapot Dome" refers to the great scandal of the 1920's and symbolizes the tawdry politics of that era. J. Leonard Bates's book is not a study of the scandal in the Harding-Coolidge administrations. It is, instead, a detailed account of legislative and bureaucratic wrangling over national oil resources and oil policy, 1909–1921. (The basic question was whether or not the government should lease reserves to private interests and, if so, under what terms.) Teapot Dome, the Wyoming oil pool that would supply the name for the scandal, was only one of several petroleum deposits that private businessmen reached for and that conservationists defended during these years. Bates shows, among other things, that the oil leasing policies of Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall in the 1920's, as well as the policies of conservationists who opposed him, were merely the final strategic moves in a donnybrook extending back to 1909, at least. As Bates has structured his story, the Leasing Law of 1920 is the legislative climax, but Teapot Dome (the scandal) is the denouement. The book ends as the congressional investigation of Fall's leasing policy begins. Bates's scholarship is impressive. His research, mostly in unpublished manuscripts and government documents, has been deep and wide; his knowledge of conservation and of twentieth-century politics is extensive; and his dispassionate narrative has about it a tone of competence and authority that makes for a respectable and reliable work. He could, however, have honed his style and focused his story better than he has done. Wordy passages discourage the reader's attention. At times, the narrative slows and bores in upon a topic beyond any apparent need, and the reader wonders where the author is leading him. But in the

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end one comes to full awareness that a new dimension has been added to the history of Teapot Dome. Behind this scar of the 1920's lay a significant decade of strife and scheming in Washington over deposits of oil in federal lands to the west.

Louisiana State University BURL NOGGLE

FROM THE NEW FREEDOM TO THE NEW FRONTIER: A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1912 TO THE PRESENT. By *André Maurois*. Translated by *Patrick O'Brien*. (New York: David McKay Company. 1963. Pp. xii, 365. $5.00.) In 1959 a group of editors hit upon the idea of publishing a "parallel" history of the two giants of the twentieth century: the United States and the Soviet Union. Louis Aragon would write the volume on the USSR; André Maurois would interpret the United States. A synthesis prepared for "the average reader of numerous countries," Maurois's study makes no claim to originality. Yet even as popular history, it has shortcomings. Since Maurois rested his synthesis on a small number of works, his account reflects the thinness of his sources. Even more important, he ignores the opportunity to compare developments in America and Russia; hence, little is gained by the attempt to write "parallel" history. Maurois has, nonetheless, written a skillful narrative of America from Wilson to Kennedy. To clarify unfamiliar American episodes for his European readers, he makes some striking analogies. "As for the senators," he explains, "they are in Washington what the cardinals are in Rome." He compares Wilson's threat to go home from Versailles to Disraeli's maneuver at the Congress of Berlin. When Wilson's jaws clenched in anger, this "was as highly significant as the quivering of the calf had been to Napoleon." Maurois is not uncritical of America. He can muster a fine Gallic disdain for prohibition, "that baneful law . . . forced upon the men of the great cities, upon the workers and the intellectuals by puritanical farmers and women brimful of worthy intentions." He has a wicked description of that "great sentimental child," William Jennings Bryan, "arrayed in candid probity and white alpaca." Yet he obviously feels warmly toward America, and his assessment of the American character is generous. Americans, he concludes, feel themselves united by "the love of peace, a genuine wish to act well, a philosophy that tucks tragedy away between brackets, and an optimism that is based upon faith in mankind."

Columbia University WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG

PERILOUS EQUILIBRIUM: THE UNITED STATES AND THE LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE OF 1930. By *Raymond G. O'Connor*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1962. Pp. 188. $5.00.) Here is impressive documentation of the futile quest for the twin will-o'-the-wisps of security and disarmament that exercised politicians and naval technicians during the interwar years; documentation, too, of a grinding process of interdepartmental accommodation within the American government. The thesis is that the treaty "constituted a formal repudiation by the United States, Great Britain, and Japan of the imperialism that had developed in these countries near the end of the nineteenth century . . . a concrete demonstration of the willingness of these nations to renounce aggressive force as an instrument of foreign policy. . . ." Three brief chapters trace interacting naval and diplomatic developments through Japan's emergence as a major threat, the navy's frustration at Washington (1921–1922), the failure of further limitation at Geneva (1927), and two succeeding years of inaction and Anglo-American ill will. Seven more recount the tortuous course of Anglo-American compromise, of Franco-Italian demurrers and three-power agreement at London, and the ratification of the resulting treaty. A concluding review points up the "calculated risk" involved in trusting Japan to "behave herself" until 1936, when an agreed equilibrium between

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that country and the United States was scheduled to be reached—a calculation defeated by American failure to remedy a previously accumulated tonnage deficit. This story joins a long roster of accounts of the conference, by David Wainhouse (1931), Merze Tate (1948), Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy (1948), Robert H. Ferrell (1957), Elting E. Morison (1960), Thaddeus V. Tuleja (1963), and Gerald E. Wheeler (1963). The passage of time, the increasing availability of records, and rising interest in the relation of naval policy to diplomacy have developed a perspective to which Professor O'Connor contributes ably. He shows that, despite the repudiation of imperialism posited in his introduction, the story unfolding at London was one of "failure to comprehend the role of air power . . . faith in unenforceable agreements . . . fervent dedication to peace and . . . political desire for a treaty" which "combined to create an unstable and illusory equilibrium of armaments." And, as a minor theme, he shows clearly that the navy, charged professionally with implementing foreign policy, was disregarded by the politicians at Washington, was powerful but unsuccessful at Geneva, and was at London subservient to political considerations and divided within itself—hardly a good augury for cooperation with the statesmen who were to meet the developing crisis of the decade.

New Brunswick, New Jersey L. Ethan Ellis

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1941. In seven volumes. Volume VI, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 7618.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1963. Pp. vi, 622. $2.75.) The first half of this volume covers matters of general concern to all the American republics including a variety of topics relating to: the unsuccessful efforts of the United States to elicit support for the Uruguayan proposal to accord nonbelligerent status to American nations at war with countries outside the hemisphere; the imposition of controls over the exports of strategic materials from the United States; the activities of the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee relative to the formulation of a common policy for the use of foreign flag vessels immobilized in American ports; and the thorny problem involving the issuance of our black list affecting individuals and companies residing or operating in Latin America. The last half of the volume concerns our relations with Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, and Chile. High on our list of priorities was the elimination of Axis controlled or oriented airlines. An interesting Argentine item was the conclusion of a reciprocal trade agreement, the first commercial treaty between the United States and Argentina in ninety years. Of these nations Brazil appeared to be the most cooperative with the United States. In urging the State Department to increase efforts to assist Brazil, Ambassador Caffery noted to Secretary Hull: "I apprehend that the Brazilian authorities will be unwilling to continue indefinitely to do everything we ask them when we may appear to be remiss on our side." Our relations with Chile, in the main, were similar to those concerning the other three nations. One document, however, which is not an isolated case, illustrates a characteristic of this and other volumes in the series. On December 10, 1941, Ambassador Claude Bowers reported from Santiago the genuine alarm of the Chilean government over the possibility of a Japanese attack on their exposed coastline and requested firm assurance of United States assistance in the event of war. The reader looks in vain for an answer to Bowers' dispatch. Obviously not all the papers can be included in this volume, but it does not appear that any of the restrictions listed in the preface would prevent the editors from inserting a footnote indicating whether Secretary Hull answered the Chilean government; or, if not, they might have given some clue as to the State Department's reasons for ignoring such an urgent request.

California State College at Los Angeles Edward O. Guerrant

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FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1943. Volume I, GENERAL. [Department of State Publication 7585.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1963. Pp. vi, 1,189. $4.00.) The contents of this impeccably edited miscellany impel several bleak reflections. They support Hugh Gibson's wry dictum that diplomacy has all the glamour of a grocery store. They underline the truism that the wartime necessities of the military cause the subordination of all other considerations. They provide substance for the view that the elaborateness of negotiations over peripheral issues in wartime tends to conceal the superficiality of both the parleys and the decisions. For example, almost a quarter of the volume is devoted to documents concerning the Bermuda Conference on the refugee problem and to attempts to succor displaced persons. But the reluctant call for the conference was instigated partly to relieve the hard-pressed British government from the pressures of domestic opinion. The delegates themselves stressed: "Concrete action in regard to the refugee situation in Spain would constitute one of the few definitely affirmative steps for this Conference. It would appear to be essential to empty Spain as rapidly as possible. This would allay some of the criticism presently directed against the British and American Governments for their inability to handle a situation which is not unreasonably difficult. It would also be of direct assistance to the refugees in occupied Europe since it would create vacancies which they could fill and would encourage attempts on their part to escape from German rule." From the compounded confusion of the succeeding sections there emerges, however, the indication that only several thousand refugees were involved. The other major issues stressed in this volume were the tripartite conference in Moscow and the establishment of UNRRA. There are sections dealing with attempts to re-establish trade between Spain and Portugal and French North Africa, exchanges of prisoners and officials, and other subjects that could not be fitted into one of the additional volumes for 1943. Traditionalists should welcome the section on that hardiest of perennials, whaling, but even here the war intruded.

Montana State University JULES ALEXANDER KARLIN

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1943. Volume III, THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH; EASTERN EUROPE; THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 7601.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1963. Pp. vii, 1,151. $3.50.) Roughly two-thirds of this splendidly compiled volume deals with Eastern Europe, primarily Russia and Poland. The major theme—and there is a major theme—reveals growing Western preoccupation with future plans and policies of the Soviet Union. Indeed, the first document records the British government's belief that it was imperative that some agreement be reached on "postwar adjustments between the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union before the armistice period" in order to forestall the probable development of "discord, suspicion, and recrimination." One gains the impression that while the British government was ready to accept Soviet control of the Balkan States and to agree to some of the Russian policies toward Poland, President Roosevelt was principally concerned with the effect these would have on American public opinion, especially among Americans of Polish origin. While Western leaders recognized the nature of the Soviet threats, Roosevelt consoled himself that through personal diplomacy he could "housebreak" Stalin. Neither he nor Cordell Hull was willing to make any commitments regarding territorial adjustments until the close of the war; to press the Polish question might prejudice future amicable relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and other Eastern European nations. This stand alarmed the Polish government-in-exile. General Sikorski, the Prime Minister, pleaded with Roosevelt and Hull that,

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to Stalin, Poland was a test case, and that he would interpret the postponement of the boundary question as a sign of acquiescence and weakness. As the year came to a close, the American ambassador to the Soviet Union began to note increasing self-confidence on the part of the Russian leaders and a concomitant pronounced hostility to the West, as well as a decreasing desire for collaboration. The other documents cover such things as the Alaska highway, trade relations with Australia, treatment of American prisoners of war in Japan, and United States interest in the Free Thai movement.

University of Connecticut LOUIS L. GERSON

THE SIEGFRIED LINE CAMPAIGN. By *Charles B. MacDonald.* [U.S. Army in World War II: The European Theater of Operations.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1963. Pp. xxi, 670. $8.75.) *The Siegfried Line Campaign,* another of the volumes in the history of the US Army in World War II, should command a high place among the fine studies already issued by the army's Office of the Chief of Military History. Its author is well qualified to write such a work, not only because of his own experience in the field but because of his ability to sort out and clarify the complex combined operations of infantry, armor, and air-borne troops. *The Siegfried Line Campaign* is essentially a tactical history of the US and Allied military operations on the northern flank of the drive to the Rhine and should be read along with the big picture, as seen in Forrest Pogue's *Supreme Command* and Roland Ruppenthal's *Logistical Support of the Armies.* It is the account of the frustrating and agonizing breaching of the German West Wall, popularly called the Siegfried Line, from September 11 to December 15, 1944, by the US First and Ninth Armies, the First Airborne Army, and the American units under British and Canadian command, all part of the vast battle that extended from the Netherlands to the Mediterranean. The campaign was not a sweeping pursuit but a series of slugging drives netting only twenty-two miles inside the German frontier at a cost of some 140,000 American battle and nonbattle casualties. Mr. MacDonald describes in detail from command post to foxhole the victims of the Huertgen Forest, the fight to gain Aachen, and the battle for the Rur Plain and the Rur River dams, "the neglected objective." In over-all plan and in small unit detail he recalls the largest air-borne army attack in World War II and its costly accomplishment. Each chapter presents not only the action of individual soldiers but the pattern and problems of command, intelligence, and logistics. A most effective last chapter weighs critically both the plan and the accomplishment of the whole campaign. For the military historian, in particular, there is a valuable appendix on the sources, evaluating everything from the combat interviews by field historians to the personal afteraction letters and books of many units and officers. This book is a vivid, authentic account of operations. It is excellent military history.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology ROY LAMSON

THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. By *John M. Swomley, Jr.* Foreword by *George McGovern.* (Boston: Beacon Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 266. $6.00.) Mr. Swomley's thesis is that since World War II the military has greatly increased its influence and power in the United States and that the growth "was a result of conscious planning for power." "Even though the framework of civilian control remains," he states, "the substance of American government today is increasingly that of military power." He then sets out "to trace the story of the growth of military influence over civilian American government." The burden of his proof rests on the army's efforts to have legislation enacted for universal military training. The first eight chapters of the book recount

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the story of the pressures for and against the legislation and the course of the various measures in Congress. But all his evidence indicates that the military establishment, which "had become the most powerful pressure group in the country," was powerless to prevent the defeat of universal military training. Thus he destroys his own thesis. Having failed to substantiate his main proposition, he goes on to attempt to demonstrate that "practically every area of our national life has overtly or subtly been affected by military ideas and organizations. . . ." The areas he investigates are the nation's economy; press, radio, and television; and foreign policy. In each sphere he fails to demonstrate his contention. In the area of the nation's economy, his proof rests on statistics of the amount of land the military owns, the number of people it employs, its budget, and its manufacturing output. In foreign policy, the role of the army is depicted as part of some sort of a plot to embroil the nation in hostilities with Russia. NATO appears to be a vehicle for the army to increase its power. Three chapters on "Militarism and the Far Right," "Religion and the Military," and "Military Influence in Education," in which he seeks to demonstrate the military's pernicious influence, are not very effective. There are, of course, some retired officers involved in extreme Rightist causes, but they constitute such a small and fringe group as to be almost ludicrous. To refute Swomley's views, one need only point to Truman's recall of MacArthur, McNamara's absolute control over the Defense Department, and the abandonment of compulsory ROTC at many colleges. And, indeed, when a general finally got to the White House, the military was never more bridled.

University of California, Berkeley ARMIN RAPPAPORT

EMPIRE OF THE INCA. By *Burr Cartwright Brundage.* Foreword by *Arnold J. Toynbee.* [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 69.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1963. Pp. xvii, 396. $6.95.) In his brief introduction to this work Arnold Toynbee comments on the dramatic quality of Inca history and on its value for a comparative study of empires. Both features are made explicit in the work itself, which reviews the whole of Inca history from the beginnings to the Spanish conquest in a text rich with prose and allusion to other cultures. Though written from the primary sources, the book makes its major impression not through depth of scholarship but through power of language. The scholarship is respectable, but underplayed. Notes are not numbered; citations are selected and abbreviated to the point of inconvenience. There is no easy way to discover whether a given source has or has not been consulted. The style is not that of most modern historical writing. ("It cannot be doubted that the end of a great empire was inscribed in the covert calligraphy of his heart.") But neither the unsystematic citations nor the romanticizing tendencies in style are indications of superficiality in content. The sources have been carefully studied, and the author appears to be in control on the substance of Inca history. The empire is conceived as the creation of its rulers, especially Viracocha and Pachacuti, and of the combined, manipulated forces of religion and conquest. The history is divided into three parts: "Fons et Origo," through Viracocha; "The Role of Caesar," the period of Pachacuti; and "Caesar's House," from Topa Inca to Huascar. In large part the chronology and interpretation follow, as they well may, the conclusions of J. H. Rowe. Like Toynbee, Brundage is impressed with the historic irony of an empire whose sufficiency within native American terms and limits failed so dramatically when confronted by Spanish arms.

State University of Iowa CHARLES GIBSON

GUATEMALA: THE STORY OF AN EMERGENT LATIN-AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. By *Mario Rosenthal.* (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1962. Pp. 327. $4.50.)

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In the light of the relative neglect of the six small countries between Mexico and Colombia in the burgeoning English-language literature on Latin America, there is a real need for a reasonably competent, moderately objective history of modern Guatemala. Unfortunately, Mr. Rosenthal's book is not such a contribution. Its treatment of the preconquest and colonial eras is thoroughly pedestrian, and the chapters spanning the period from independence to the revolution of 1944 add almost nothing to Jones's standard work. Peculiarly, this indispensable volume is the most notable omission from a bibliography composed largely of inferior volumes. In sum, Rosenthal's *Guatemala* cannot be taken seriously as a historical study. The author's chief concern, however, is not so much with the past as with the Guatemala of today, although he fails to carry its historical evolution to the present. Treatment of the years 1944–1957 is generally superficial and one-sided, designed to support an untenable thesis. The uninformed reader is left with a dangerously incomplete and highly distorted picture of this most important of the Central American republics. The informed reader can only reject many of Rosenthal's basic contentions. Beyond 1957 the book deteriorates into a run-of-the-mill propaganda polemic for General Ydígoras Fuentes, President of Guatemala at the time of the book's publication. Indeed, Rosenthal's almost complete failure to cover developments since the 1957 elections is explicable only in light of the fact that he was already collaborating with Ydígoras in the preparation of another book spanning the latter's presidential years, since published as *My War with Communism* (1963). Unfortunately there is little justification for taking Rosenthal's book seriously as either history or as current political analysis. As the former, *Guatemala* is shallow and uninspired; as the latter, it is superficial and unreliable at best.

Columbia University RONALD M. SCHNEIDER

VASCO DE QUIROGA AND HIS PUEBLO-HOSPITALS OF SANTA FE. By *Fintan B. Warren, O.F.M.* (Washington, D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1963. Pp. viii, 133. $6.00.) Among the truly magnificent figures of the Catholic Church in sixteenth-century New Spain was Vasco de Quiroga, a reformer who devoted his life to the defense and welfare of the recently conquered Indians. Fintan B. Warren's study covers the pueblo hospitals—defined as "charitable institutions for the refuge, maintenance, or education of needy, aged, infirm, or young persons"—established by the famous Spaniard just outside Mexico City and among the Tarascan Indians of Pátzcuaro, Michoacán. Though Warren has written primarily a narrative account, he explores the ideological background of Quiroga's experiments, in particular their ties with the *Utopia* of Thomas More. Warren's Quiroga has his weaknesses, but the picture that emerges is in keeping with the sympathetic portrait that history has left behind of a man-apostle firmly dedicated to the ideals of his faith. The account is based on both secondary and archival sources, which the author has obviously mastered. Unfortunately, Warren has marred an otherwise scholarly discussion by including in his summary an attack on Communism and, by implication, the expropriation during the Mexican Revolution of private property for the sake of reform.

Smith College RAMÓN EDUARDO RUIZ

EL SALARIADO MINERO EN CHILE COLONIAL: SU DESARROLLO EN UNA SOCIEDAD PROVINCIAL: EL NORTE CHICO 1690–1800. By *Marcello Carmagnani.* ([Santiago:] Universidad de Chile, Centro de Historia Colonial. 1963. Pp. 114.) Marcello Carmagnani has performed a great service with the publication of his study of economic and social developments in northern Chile, 1690–1800. Using a wide range of source material, a clear and concise style, and careful and plentiful footnotes, he has ably determined the economic and social patterns that mark the area off as a

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separate unit from the Chilean central valley. Although the main purpose of the study is to analyze the problems that developed when mining became a major concern in El Norte Chico, other social and economic modifications are examined. Shifts in agricultural production, the decline of the encomienda, and the appearance of the mestizo are topics for the author's concern. The monograph is an outstanding addition to Chilean historical literature, as it delves into a relatively unexplored area of colonial history.

University of Denver TERENCE S. TARR

FRAY IGNACIO MARIÑO, O. P., CAPELLÁN GENERAL DEL EJÉRCITO LIBERTADOR. By *Roberto María Tisnés J., C.M.F.* Prologue by *Oswaldo Díaz Díaz.* [Biblioteca de Historia Nacional, Volume CI.] (Bogotá: Editorial A B C. 1963. Pp. xvi, 285.) Mariño was a Dominican friar on mission duty in the llanos of Casanare at the time of the Spanish reconquest of New Granada in 1815. Refusing to surrender, he led Indians and *llaneros* in successful guerrilla warfare against the royalists. Later, he served with Bolívar in the campaign of 1819 as chaplain of the army. Though Mariño was a minor figure in the history of the independence of Colombia, his career interests those concerned with the history of the Church and more particularly of the Dominican order in Colombia. Tisnés has produced a sometimes engaging but often wordy biography. The data on Mariño could have been presented within the limits of an article; they are here interspersed with already known aspects of the general history of New Granada and lengthy editorializing on matters of opinion. The author is a patriot, a Conservative, a Bolivarian, a Hispanist, and a great admirer of the Dominicans. He leans heavily on the writings of the Dominican historian Andrés Mesanza and on the standard histories of the period (Groot, Restrepo). He has also combed the *Archivo Nacional* for material (rather scant) on his hero as well as certain parish records. An appendix presents some relevant documents. Those who wade through this book will be rewarded with some interesting side lights on the behavior of Granadan ecclesiastics during the difficult years of revolution and counterrevolution from 1810 to 1819.

Vassar College CHARLES GRIFFIN

DOCUMENTOS HISTÓRICOS DE LA REVOLUCIÓN MEXICANA. REVOLUCIÓN Y RÉGIMEN CONSTITUCIONALISTA. Volume IV, EL PLAN DE GUADALUPE. Edited for the Comisión de Investigaciones Históricas de la Revolución Mexicana under the direction of *Isidro Fabela.* [Fuentes y documentos de la historia de México.] (México, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1963. Pp. xiii, 220.) The fourth volume in this documentary series edited by President Carranza's Foreign Secretary adds still another segment to the *carrancista* interpretation of that troubled decade of 1910 (previous volumes reviewed in *AHR,* LXVII [Jan. 1962], 523, LXVIII [Jan. 1963], 563, and LXIX [Oct. 1963], 251). Once again the focus is on the years 1913–1915 and this time on the manifesto of March 26, 1913, in which Carranza announced his determination to overthrow the Huerta regime. The narrative, liberally sprinkled with personal letters, official communications, decrees, and laws, commences with a review of Huerta's treacherous overthrow and assassination of Madero at the beginning of 1913, then shifts to the northern state of Coahuila where Governor Carranza's resistance presented serious difficulties for Huerta. That simple, one-page declaration, the March 26 Plan of Guadalupe, which withdrew recognition from the Huerta administration and named Carranza commander of the constitutionalist forces and provisional national executive, was signed by only a handful of followers. Yet during the ensuing months the constitutionalist contagion spread rapidly through northern

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Mexico. By the end of 1914, with his base of operations located at Veracruz, Carranza sought to increase his popularity and authority with decrees for agrarian reform, petroleum exploitation, and municipal organization. The patchwork of documents and narrative then skips to Carranza's ultimate victory. In the final pages Fabela returns to his central theme—that the stability and institutions of modern Mexico owed their origins to the Plan of Guadalupe. Rather than the numbered documents or lengthy summaries Fabela has included in previous volumes, this one varies the presentation as the author weaves the documents into a coherent narrative. Yet his violent pro-Carranza and anti-*yanqui* bias remains painfully evident, and occasional digressions detract considerably from the flow of his story. Despite all efforts the Plan of Guadalupe does not emerge as a transcendental event in Mexican history, perhaps not even warranting a title in this series. The student of Mexican history, nevertheless, will find that this volume, like it predecessors, provides excellent material on internal developments during the first decade of the *Revolution*.

University of California, Berkeley JAMES R. SCOBIE

PROPHETS OF THE REVOLUTION: PROFILES OF LATIN AMERICAN LEADERS. By *Robert J. Alexander*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1962. Pp. viii, 322. $4.95.) In twelve short political biographies Professor Alexander outlines the careers of some of the most magnetic and influential makers of modern Latin America. These men are not so much "prophets of the revolution" as they are instigators of various kinds of "revolution" in the area. They range from the moderate Arturo Alessandri of Chile to the radical Fidel Castro of Cuba, from the democratic-minded Muñoz Marín of Puerto Rico to the authoritarian Juan Perón of Argentina. But one thing they have in common: the will to break the traditional structure of Latin American society. This work is designed neither for the expert nor the novice in Latin American studies, but rather for the informed general reader, as supplementary and background information on the current problems troubling Latin America and US-Latin American relations. The sketches are uneven in quality. Lázaro Cárdenas and Arturo Alessandri in particular are treated rather superficially. Their complex and checkered careers need a critical analysis rather than a chronological account of their deeds to be understandable in the context of their countries' problems and crises. Castro, too, needs further probing, and in light of the voluminous literature on Cuba, Alexander could have presented us with a picture (or a choice of pictures) of greater depth. Perón fares best of all. One may quarrel with Alexander on a point or two of his interpretation, but the reader quickly perceives that the author knows this subject well and feels strongly about his regime and accomplishments. In other words with the Perón sketch we are presented with a point of view of some depth; we feel that we have a grasp of the man, his time, and his country that is lacking in the others. Let me end on a positive note. The sketches are informative and interesting, the selections well chosen, and the writing smooth. The introduction and conclusion are short but perceptive essays on Latin America's past and current problems.

University of Texas KARL M. SCHMITT

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T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College

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Historical News

American Historical Association

Dr. Louis B. Wright, Director of the Folger Shakespeare Library, has been appointed Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association for the year beginning September 1, 1964.

Dr. Wright, who received his doctorate at the University of North Carolina, has also been awarded nineteen honorary degrees in recognition of his many books and other contributions to American colonial and English history and literature. He is Chairman of the Board of the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation; Vice-Chairman of the Council on Library Resources; President of the Cosmos Club; Fellow of the Royal Society, Literature; Fellow of the Royal Society, Arts; member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Philosophical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Modern Humanities Research Association; and senator of Phi Beta Kappa.

He will continue as Director of the Folger Library.

The American Historical Association will meet at the Sheraton Park and Shoreham Hotels, Washington, D. C., December 28–30, 1964. Aubrey Land of the University of Maryland is Chairman of the Program Committee, and Jean Joughin of American University is Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

Libraries and Archives

The papers of Fred Kenelm Nielsen (1879–1963), lawyer, educator, and diplomat, have been presented to the Library of Congress by three of Nielsen's nieces. There is material dated as early as 1881 and as late as 1961, but most of the papers, which are estimated to number 7,800 pieces, center on the years 1900–1956 and consist of correspondence and memoranda relating to Nielsen's service as solicitor for the Department of State, as legal adviser to the London Economic and Financial Conference in 1933, and as a member of commissions and boards of arbitration concerned with this country's relations with Mexico, Great Britain, Egypt, and Turkey. Among his correspondents were Chandler P. Anderson, Cordell Hull, Philip C. Jessup, John Bassett Moore, Bernard M. Baruch, and Roscoe Pound.

To the Woodrow Wilson papers has been added a rich supplement of almost eighteen thousand pieces which the National Trust for Historic Preservation found in the Woodrow Wilson House on S Street in Washington, D. C., and transferred to the Library of Congress. The new material is composed of family and general correspondence, student notes, drafts of lectures (some in shorthand), chapters of his *Congressional Government,* and articles, all of which concern Wilson's life

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prior to 1906 and center on the years 1879–1898. The correspondence relates to family affairs and to his activities as a student, a teacher, and an author. The addition as a whole gives information on a period that has hitherto been comparatively little documented.

More than fourteen thousand papers of Donald R. Richberg (1891–1960), lawyer, public administrator, and author, have been received as a gift from Mrs. Richberg and have been combined with the first installment of the papers, which was presented to the Library by Richberg himself in 1957. The material falls mainly within the years 1903–1958. A large segment pertains to his activities as adviser to Theodore Roosevelt in organizing the Progressive party and later to Franklin D. Roosevelt during his campaign for the presidency in 1932 and in the early years of his administration, when Richberg served as general counsel and later as director of the National Recovery Administration (1933–1935) and as special assistant to the Attorney General (1935–1936). Extensive files reflect his distinguished career as a lawyer and his interest in labor law and practice. Of even greater extent are the manuscripts, galley proofs, and published copies of Richberg's books, articles, speeches, poetry, and other writings. Correspondence is included in each of these categories, and there is in addition a small but important file of general correspondence.

Additions were also made to the Jacques Loeb papers, the Herbert Putnam papers, and the Paul Wayland Bartlett papers.

The National Archives has recently received several bodies of records from the Department of State: records produced or accumulated, 1939–1945, by its War History Branch while preparing historical studies of the Department's World War II activities; reports, studies, and surveys produced by the Research and Analysis Branch of the Office of Strategic Services and its successors in the Department of State, relating to cultural, economic, military, political, and social affairs of most areas of the world, 1941–1961; and correspondence, minutes, project files, and other records, 1938–1953, of the Interdepartmental Advisory Council on Technical Cooperation, which advised the Department in planning and directing various cultural, scientific, and technical aid programs. Other accessions include letters and other materials collected by Henry E. Williams, a former Weather Bureau official, for use in writing a proposed history of the Weather Service of the Signal Corps and the early years of the Weather Bureau; papers accumulated by Joseph A. Hill, a leading Census Bureau statistician, 1917–1938; records relating to plans for and operations of the industrial census of 1954; forty volumes of World War I trust ledgers maintained by the Office of the Alien Property Custodian and its successor, 1937–1957; minutes of meetings of the General Supply Committee, 1909–1931, documenting the early history of centralized control over federal supply; the legislative files of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, 1953–1957; and records of the National Capital Planning Commission, consisting of maps of the District of Columbia and the surrounding area, site and project plans, architectural and construction drawings, ground and aerial photographs, and artists' sketches, containing information dating from 1791 to 1962.

Among microfilm publications recently completed are the Letters Sent by the Confederate Secretary of War (10 rolls); Letters Sent by the Confederate Secretary

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of War to the President (2 rolls); Telegrams Sent by the Confederate Secretary of War, 1861–1865 (1 roll); Letters Sent by the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury, 1861 and 1864–1865 (1 roll); and Letters Sent by the Commissioner of Customs Relating to Captured and Abandoned Property, 1868–1875 (1 roll). Also recently microfilmed are the Letters Received by the Surveyor General of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1797–1856 (43 rolls); Letters of Application and Recommendation during the Administration of John Quincy Adams, 1825–1829 (8 rolls); Letters Received by the Secretary of War from the President, Executive Departments, and War Department Bureaus, 1862–1870 (117 rolls); Copybooks of George Washington's Correspondence with Secretaries of State, 1789–1796 (1 roll); Registers of Letters Received by the Topographical Bureau of the War Department, 1824–1866 (4 rolls); Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of France, 1910–1929 (162 rolls); and the Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of West Virginia (261 rolls).

The National Archives has recently published two preliminary inventories, Number 158, *Records of the Commissioner of Railroads,* and Number 159, *United States Government Documents Having General Legal Effect;* and Special List Number 19, *List of Cartographic Records of the General Land Office.*

The estate of the late George T. Bye, President Roosevelt's literary agent, has given the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library a number of telegrams and letters received by him from the President during the years 1935–1945. The correspondence concerns Mr. Roosevelt's arrangements with publishers, reminiscences of his earlier writing efforts, and personal matters. Among the tape recordings received are those of Mr. Roosevelt's informal remarks to the National Press Club on November 22, 1932; Mrs. Roosevelt's recollections of youthful associations with her Hall family relatives in New York City and in Tivoli; her interview with Premier Khrushchev at Yalta in 1957; an address by Senator John F. Kennedy in Hyde Park on August 14, 1960; and the remarks of Ambassador Adlai Stevenson and others at the groundbreaking ceremonies of the Eleanor Roosevelt wings of the library on November 7, 1963.

Recent accessions of the Harry S. Truman Library include papers of several officials of the Truman administration: Commander William M. Rigdon, assistant naval aide to the President, 1942–1953; Joel D. Wolfsohn, Assistant Secretary of the Interior; and W. John Kenney, Undersecretary of the Navy and Deputy Director for Mutual Security. A conference of scholars was held at the library on March 20–21 dealing with the origins of the European Recovery Program.

Among the collections of papers received in recent months by the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library are the personal files of Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell and Special Assistant to the President J. Stewart Bragdon.

The National Historical Publications Commission met March 10–11, 1964. By nomination of the American Historical Association Council, Lyman Butterfield replaced Julian Boyd as one of the two representatives of the Association on the commission. A resolution of thanks to Dr. Boyd for his long service on the commission, 1950–1963, and for his many valuable contributions to the commission's program was passed unanimously.

By motion of Boyd Shafer, the commission voted to approve and sponsor the

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preparation of a "Guide to Archival and Manuscript Sources in the United States Relating to Africa" as proposed by the African Studies Association and paralleling a series of similar guides for African materials in European countries initiated by the International Council on Archives. Morris Rieger of the National Archives will be the compiler; the project will be financed by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

The commission next considered the future of the *Territorial Papers,* a subject referred to it by resolution of the American Historical Association Council passed at its meeting, December 27, 1963. In general, the commission accepted certain recommendations of the council: that a specialist in the history of the American West be employed as editor of the *Territorial Papers;* that the unfinished volumes relating to the Territory of Wisconsin be completed by this editor as already planned; that the editor continue with plans to publish volumes for the next three territories, Iowa, Minnesota, and Oregon, but advise the commission as to whether standards set by previous volumes as to scope and degree of selectivity should be maintained or modified for these territories; and that with respect to the papers of all subsequent territories the editor is to submit a reconsidered plan, based on his accumulated knowledge and experience, for carrying the total enterprise to completion by using both microfilm and letterpress.

A proposal submitted by Donald Jackson to assemble, edit, and publish the documents relating to the two exploring expeditions led by General Zebulon M. Pike, including a new edition of the journals of the expeditions, was considered and approved by the commission as "an editorial undertaking which it considers of special value to American history and deserving of support and assistance from the Commission and all others in a position to give it."

On March 11 many members of the commission testified before a special subcommittee (Senator Claibourne Pell, chairman) of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, which held hearings on H.R. 6237, the proposed legislation authorizing the commission to make modest grants to aid in the reproduction and publication of documentary source materials significant to the history of the United States.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin archives has received papers of William Kirsch, chief statistician of the Wisconsin Department of Agriculture, covering the years 1921–1954; papers of Paul S. Reinsch, professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin and minister to China (1913–1919), for the years 1892–1924; papers of Edwin E. Witte, University of Wisconsin economist and executive director of the President's Committee on Economic Security (1934–1935), covering the period 1905–1960; records of the Associated Gas and Electric Company, New York, for the years 1902–1954; and papers of Labor's Non-Partisan League from 1936 to 1944.

Lehigh University has donated an important collection of papers relating to John Russell Bartlett, one of Rhode Island's most celebrated literary figures of the nineteenth century, to Brown University.

The Baker Library of the Harvard Business School has received older records

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of the Walter Baker Chocolate Plant, Dorchester Lower Mills, from the General Foods Corporation.

The University of Chicago Library has incorporated the papers of Edith and Grace Abbott, former professors of social service administration at the university, in its permanent archival collection.

International Historical Activities

The fifth conference of American and German historians under the auspices of the *Internationales Schulbuchinstitut,* the second to deal especially with recent history, met November 4–9, 1963, in Brunswick, Germany. For the first time, attention was devoted exclusively to books used in the *Oberprima* level of the German Gymnasium and the Freshman level of American colleges. After each group had criticized representative texts of the other nation, a joint committee drew up a list of recommendations for the guidance of textbook writers in both countries, which was then discussed, amended, and adopted by the conference. Except for a list of specific themes to be considered in dealing with the Hitler period, the recommendations tended to emphasize common problems: technology should not only be mentioned but integrated in the basic analysis; there should be more intellectual and social history, less "formal," constitutional, and military history; Central Europe should be recognized as an area different than either East or West; treating modern "mass" society with a willful or nostalgic pessimism is futile; the tendency to write only "Great Power" history, even in the cultural sphere, completely ignores the problems and contributions of the many small countries of Europe. A specific German problem is the necessity of integrating German history with that of the rest of Europe. An American problem is the failure to point out to the American student the original meaning of "nation" in the European context, where it has never been possible to identify it with "state" or "people," as in the United States. A full report of the proceedings may be obtained from the Institute, Brunswick, Okerstrasse 8b.

A. L. Gabriel has been elected Vice-President of the newly established Commission for the History of Universities within the International Committee of Historical Sciences.

Grants, Awards, Prizes

The University of Louisville has received a gift from Mr. and Mrs. Barry Bingham for the establishment of chairs for distinguished scholars in the areas of the humanities and history.

The Timken Foundation of Canton, Ohio, has announced a grant of ten thousand dollars to the Stark County Historical Society to produce a pictorial history of President William McKinley.

Historians receiving Guggenheim fellowships for 1964 are: Josef L. Altholz,

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Thomas N. Bisson, Thomas N. Bonner, George T. Dennis, David Donald, Richard M. Dorson, Gilbert C. Fite, Frank Freidel, Jr., Alfred M. Gollin, Jack P. Greene, William Greenleaf, Gerald J. Gruman, Brooke Hindle, W. Turrentine Jackson, David Joravsky, Edward Lurie, Ramsay MacMullen, Lauro Martines, Richard M. Morse, Walter T. K. Nugent, Peter N. Riesenberg, Mario Rodríguez, Hans Rogger, Thomas C. Smith, Gerald Strauss, Peter F. Sugar, Leonard M. Thompson, Donald W. Treadgold, David E. Underdown, Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Calvin Woodard, and Serge A. Zenkovsky.

Among historians receiving grants from the American Council of Learned Societies for research in the humanities and related social sciences are: Dean Albertson, James J. Barnes, Robert L. Benson, Barton J. Bernstein, David D. Bien, John A. Braeman, Robert Brentano, Gene A. Brucker, Charles T. Davis, Carl N. Degler, Eugene D. Genovese, Doris S. Goldstein, William H. Harbaugh, Margaret Hastings, Sydney V. James, Jr., Sister Dolorosa Kennelly, Stanley I. Kutler, L. Jesse Lemisch, Heiko A. Oberman, Raymond G. O'Connor, Joe M. Richardson, Moses Rischin, Bernard Semmel, Donald W. Sutherland, Allen W. Trelease, and Schafer Williams.

The American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council have jointly awarded grants for research in Asian studies to the following historians: John H. Broomfield, Robert I. Crane, John W. Hall, John R. McLane, Johanna M. Menzel, and Thomas C. Smith.

Grants for research in Slavic and East European studies have also been awarded jointly by the ACLS and the SSRC to Zdenek David, Woodford D. McClellan, Marc Raeff, George C. Soulis, and Peter F. Sugar.

The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation has named 1,507 fellows to undertake graduate study for the year 1964–1965, among them a number in history.

Historians receiving grants-in-aid from the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery are: Thomas D. Clark, William A. Clebsch, Thomas J. Condon, Wilbur R. Jacobs, Hugh F. Kearney, Leon F. Litwack, Sister Joan de Lourdes, and Charles L. Stansifer.

John Carter Brown Library Fellowships for the year 1964–1965 have been awarded to George E. McCandlish and Charles E. Clark.

Cecile Zinberg received the Junior Resident Research Fellowship from the Newberry Library for 1963–1964.

Of sixty-four southern women who will prepare for college teaching or administrative posts under the American Association of University Women College Faculty Program, those studying history are: Charlotte Davis, Mondia Dyer, and Teresa Unthank.

The National Science Foundation awarded a grant to Marin Pundeff for a study of education in Eastern Europe.

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Paul G. Sifton has received a grant from the Eastern National Park and Monument Association for research on the physical history of the Independence Square Buildings (1774–1800).

Ben Morreale has received a fellowship from the Research Foundation of the State University of New York for work on "Gouverneur Morris' Activities in Europe, 1792–1798."

Columbia University awarded its 1964 Bancroft Prizes to William E. Leuchtenburg for his *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932–1940;* to Paul Seabury for his *Power, Freedom, and Diplomacy;* and to John L. Thomas for his *The Liberator: William Lloyd Garrison.*

Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., received the Thomas Newcomen Award for the best book on the history of business published in the United States during 1961–1963—*Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of the Industrial Enterprise.*

At the 1963 meeting of the Society of American Archivists the Gondos Essay Award was presented to William James Stewart for his essay, "The Sources of Labor History: Problem and Promise."

Publications

The Advisory Committee on the *Foreign Relations of the United States* held its seventh annual meeting in Washington, D. C., November 1–2, 1963. Representing the American Historical Association were Robert H. Ferrell and Richard W. Leopold. Faced with the vast expansion of American diplomatic activity after 1945, the accompanying proliferation of source materials, and a relative decline of personnel in the Historical Office, the committee accepted reluctantly a twenty-year interval between the publication of documents and the events they describe. That figure had been suggested by Secretary of State Dean Rusk at the meeting in 1962, and under William M. Franklin the Historical Office is gearing its efforts to maintain that time lag. The committee endorsed new procedures for speeding clearance on classified records and revised rules governing access by scholars to the archives of the State Department. It made its annual plea for more personnel in the Historical Office. It also commended E. Ralph Perkins, who is retiring after thirty years as editor of *Foreign Relations,* and expressed pleasure at the appointment of S. Everett Gleason as his successor.

Other Historical News

John B. Wolf, University of Minnesota, has been elected Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Historical Association's Modern European History Section for 1964. He is replacing Wallace K. Ferguson, University of Western Ontario.

Historic Annapolis, Incorporated, has been indexing the early records of Annapolis, the capital of Maryland. They have worked on two sets of colonial records: the Anne Arundel County Court Judgements, which began in 1702, and the

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Annapolis Corporation Minutes and the Mayor's Court Proceedings (1720–1820).

A conference on "The French in the Mississippi Valley" was held at Saint Louis, Missouri, February 13–15, 1964.

Recent Deaths

Saukichi (Sokichi) Tsuda, an honorary member of the Association from Japan, died in December 1961.

Bernice Brooks Tompkins, professor emeritus of history at San Jose State College, died February 5, 1964, at the age of sixty-nine.

Norman F. Furniss, professor of history and former chairman of the department of history and political science at Colorado State University, died March 16, at the age of forty-two. He received his undergraduate and graduate training at Yale University; he was the author of *The Fundamentalist Controversy in the United States, 1918–1931* (1954) and *The Mormon Conflict* (1960).

Albert Tarulis of Washington, D. C., died on April 3.

Louise Stetson Fuller of Northampton, Massachusetts, died recently.

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

With reference to a review of *Akbar the Great,* Volume I, *Political History, 1542–1605* A.D., published in the October 1963 number of your esteemed journal (p. 225), may I request you to publish this letter?

The learned reviewer writes: "If Smith was prejudiced, Srivastava has an attitude of adulation toward Akbar. For instance, he argues that Akbar's unprovoked aggression against Gondawana, his vindictive carnage of the people of Chitor, and his vendetta against the House of Rana Pratap were inspired by a desire 'to create the political, administrative and cultural unity of India,' which is special pleading." The learned reviewer seems to have missed the following lines of the book: "This [recovery of his father's territory] was followed by a period of *aggressive conquest,* such as, that of Gondwana, which, under Rani Durgawati, was better governed than any part of Akbar's dominion at that time. The motives were more territory, more wealth, and the employment of the forces in active warfare so as to prevent other States to encroach upon the Mughal territory" (p. 161). About the massacre of Chittoor, please read: "Most of these [people of Chittoor] fell victims to Akbar's *misplaced anger*—an *indefensible act*—which Abul Fazl tried in vain to justify" (p. 119). As regards Akbar's vendetta against the House of Rana Pratap, we have on page 223 of this book that for this "Pratap is less to blame than Akbar, who insisted throughout on the Rana's personal attendance at his court." For Akbar's imperialism and diplomacy and his faults, please refer to pages 510–511 and 514–515 of the book.

The above lines speak for themselves.

Agra College, India A. L. Srivastava

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To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

On pages 250–251 of the *American Historical Review* (LXIX [Oct. 1963]) your reviewer states he was "saddened by the comment, 'there were no *libros de caballerías,* so beloved in Spain,' " since his *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Indies* "laid low that canard thirty years ago." The context of this statement in my original text clearly indicates that no *libros de caballerías* were printed in New Spain. As I point out in my study of "The Libraries of Colonial Spanish America" (*Biblioteca docet: Festschrift Carl Wehmer* [1963], p. 258 and n. 10), I am keenly and appreciatively aware of the contributions of the reviewer on this subject. I refrain from any other comments on the review, since it is a fair statement of opinion and clearly without malice.

University of Kentucky Lawrence S. Thompson

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

In his review of my book, *The Sickle under the Hammer: The Russian Socialist Revolutionaries in the Early Months of Soviet Rule* (*AHR,* LXIX [Jan. 1964], 458), Professor George Barr Carson has made certain statements that merit correction.

He complains of language "relentlessly denigrating" to the Socialist Revolutionaries. Is it my language that is so "relentlessly denigrating" or their record? It is well known to me, of course, that critics do not like strong and straightforward language. They have made a fetish of the form instead of the substance of objectivity. If this study had been published after a normal amount of work, the language would have been equivocal enough and the conclusions inconclusive enough to have convinced critics of its objectivity. But at least one virtue of long years of immersion in a subject is that things eventually fall into clear focus and that the investigator picks up deeper lying threads of development that long have eluded his search. Hence he can be positive in numerous aspects of his interpretation, though, unfortunately, not in all. Professor Carson has been good enough to recognize the amount of work that has gone into this study, but he has not taken into account the fruits thereof.

In the last analysis he feels, though he is too polite to state it overtly, that there is another side to the record, more favorable to the group under study, which I have been unwilling to bring forward. Yet he cites not a single example of suppression or distortion. And not because, like many critics, he lacks the requisite knowledge, but because he has found none.

Professor Carson also speaks of "emotional partisanship." There are both truth and error in this charge. The error comes in respect to V. M. Chernov and certain other SR leaders. I have had to criticize severely the political conduct of men to whom I am deeply indebted and for whom I have the kindest feeling, not because I wanted to but because objective circumstances imposed this grievous duty. Here the emotional partisanship is precisely the reverse of that to be inferred from Carson's review.

The truth comes in respect to the fate of the peasantry. I am a partisan of the peasantry. Why should Professor Carson begrudge me this? The class has so few defenders. Whatever he and others may think, the lot of the Russian peasantry under Bolshevism, coming on top of what it endured under the old regime, is a dark chapter in history. The SR's held the key to a better future for these millions of human beings. They threw the key away. To establish their responsibility for what was to come without in any way diminishing the Bolshevik responsibility has been as much or even more the main theme of my study as the

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reappraisal of the Constituent Assembly noted by Professor Carson. In the last analysis, without desiring to do so, and knowing better, the SR's surrendered direction of their movement to a small group that subordinated the peasant interest to the preservation of a plunder empire, to Pan-Slavism, and to the imperious demands of the imperial French Republic. For this betrayal of a trust voluntarily assumed and never renounced I have condemned them—decisively, and without deference to pseudo canons of historical objectivity.

Boulder, Colorado OLIVER H. RADKEY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his review of Professor Arthur Adams' *Bolsheviks in the Ukraine* (*AHR*, LXIX [Jan. 1964], 459) Mr. Basil Dmytryshyn mistakenly questions the use of the term "junker" which, he says, applies to the Prussian, not the Russian aristocracy. The fact of the matter is that Professor Adams is referring to *Iunkerskoe uchilishche*, a military academy. The "junkers" (or *iunkerà*) were thus not aristocrats but students of officer training schools.

Yale University F. KAZEMZADEH

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

His review of my *The Americans*, in your issue of April 1964 (p. 778), once again affords me the opportunity to advance the education of Carl N. Degler who, alas, has not yet learned how to read or how accurately to report the opinions of others. I deal with his misstatements in the order in which they appear.

It is simply not true that the book sketches "a happy picture of the American past" or that "prior to the middle of the twentieth century, little else [than the Civil War] was disappointing." See, *inter alia*, pages 60–65, 125–126, 192, and the whole of Chapter XVII.

The statement that the New Deal was "a culmination of four decades of progressive development" is not undefended or unexplored; it comes at the end of a chapter that traces those lines of development (see Chapter XXIV).

The "years of socially critical progressivism" are not "summed up" in the sentence Degler quotes. That sentence appears in the middle of a chapter that deals with American views of the outer world, 1900–1917 (p. 317), and it effects a transition between the analyses of attitudes toward foreign and toward domestic affairs. The discussion of progressivism comes two chapters later.

"The mood of the expansive years after 1865" is not put as Degler says it is. The sentence he quotes (p. 309) *opens* a paragraph that goes on to suggest the relationship of the doubts engendered by the failure of the Civil War to the cultural, social, and political effects of industrialization and urbanization.

Degler: "he flatly says that the minorities 'could not become racists,' ignoring the Black Muslims and the anti-Semitism of Father Coughlin. . . ." The phrase quoted comes (p. 337) in a discussion of the period *before* 1939, that is, before the appearance of the present Black Muslim movement; and Father Coughlin was not a racist although he may have been anti-Semitic in his references to international plutocrats mentioned two pages later (p. 339).

The "tariff history of the years before 1860" is not "summed up" in the sentence quoted. That sentence (p. 219) appears in the course of a discussion of the attitudes of overseas merchants toward currency and national commercial policy, and it refers to their expectations of what a moderate tariff increase might have done.

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Degler: ". . . FDR's overtures to the Russians are said to be based upon his belief that the USSR was a democracy." My discussion (pp. 379–82) *does not* refer to overtures to the Russians and *does not* say that FDR thought that the USSR was a democracy. It does say that the military and diplomatic situation between 1941 and 1945 forced FDR "to push to the back of his mind the troublesome freedoms in which he believed and Stalin did not" and "to minimize the general Soviet problem as much as possible" so that even after Yalta he "could not afford to let himself or the public know that his Russian ally was not a democracy and was a potential enemy."

The final paragraph of the review which purports to list "factual errors" has noted two regrettable typographical mistakes, but is filled out with rhetorical questions and with convenient alterations of my statements. Examples: I did not say that "slave breeding" was "the chief economic support of the eighteenth-century Virginia plantation"; I said (p. 97) that the Chesapeake planters were essentially speculators who derived larger gains from the rising value of Negroes *and land* than from tobacco. I referred (p. 244) to "prostitution in the cities and concubinage on the plantations"; Degler feels free to alter the statement to "prostitution and concubinage on southern plantations." I wrote (p. 258) that Lincoln was "willing to negotiate the question of the territories"; Degler gratuitously inserts "slavery," so that he can refute an opinion I do not hold.

The instance last referred to will illustrate the significance of Degler's free and easy distortions. In the negotiations that looked toward compromise between the date of his election and his assumption of office, Lincoln refused to accept any arrangement that might in the future legitimate the spread of slavery. A new Missouri line or popular sovereignty defined as such would open the way for later efforts to create slave states in Mexico or the Caribbean. But he did not care much what arrangements for local government were made in such existing territories as New Mexico (see his letter to Seward, February 1, 1861). Nor did he object when the Congress, controlled by Republicans, organized Dakota, Nevada, and Colorado without explicit reference to slavery, in effect leaving the status of the institution to popular sovereignty. This distinction is obliterated by your reviewer's alteration of my statement. I prefer, charitably, to consider that deformation a product of ignorance rather than of malice, and I cling to the hope that Mr. Degler will still prove capable of learning.

Harvard University OSCAR HANDLIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Let me say at the outset that Mr. Handlin's optimism concerning my educability is justified. When I sent in my review, I anticipated that because I was critical of his book he would attack me personally. I must be learning, for, when first our paths crossed in academic journals, I was totally unprepared for his personal touch.

After reading Mr. Handlin's letter, I reread the careless generalizations and misstatements of fact in his book that I pointed out in my review. But I still believe that any fair-minded reader would agree that my criticisms—and most of them Mr. Handlin has not disputed—as well as my praise of his book are reasonably accurate, considering the general tendency of authors to find reviewers inadequate. It would serve no purpose to go over the ground again. I am fully prepared to leave the decision as to the accuracy of my review to those interested readers who will compare my summaries and criticisms with the relevant passages in the book itself.

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Of more concern to me is the assertion by Mr. Handlin that I distorted his meaning by omitting or adding words in several places. An inspection of my review will make evident that I was in each instance paraphrasing, not quoting him, and so far as I can see my rendition did not alter his meaning. He makes much of the distinction between the question of the territories and that of slavery in the territories, charging me with obscuring it. So far as I can tell from his present exegesis of the sentence in his book, slavery was the *only* issue in the territories. It seems to me that the distinction, therefore, is in his mind only, and not in the historical record. Certainly it is not in the letter of Lincoln that he cites. There, only a single sentence is devoted to New Mexico, which is clearly treated as an exceptional territory—it already had local laws protecting slavery. Lincoln devotes almost the whole of that letter—as well as others—to asserting his "inflexible" opposition to all means to extend slavery, that is, into any areas where it was not already protected by local law. Furthermore, Allan Nevins, in *The Emergence of Lincoln,* Volume II, pages 407–408, 448, explained at length why the organizing of the territories of New Mexico, Nevada, Dakota, and Colorado was not a departure from Lincoln's consistent position on the territories, or slavery in the territories, as one prefers.

Vassar College CARL N. DEGLER

On July 3, 1963, Dr. Shafer received the following letter from David L. Hoggan:

It affords me great pleasure to inform you that on June 11, 1963, I was awarded the Leopold von Ranke Prize of DM 10,000 by the Gesellschaft zur Foerderung Geschichtswissenschaftlicher Forschung e.V., Metzkauser Strasse 59, Duesseldorf 4, Germany. I received this award for my book, *Der Erzwungene Krieg,* which was reviewed in the October 1962 issue of the American Historical Review.

This led to a news item in the October issue. The *Review* has followed the policy of not investigating the *bona fides* of organizations granting prizes in history. In the light of the following letter perhaps that policy should be revised.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In the October 1963 issue of the *AHR* (p. 299) a note was printed according to which "David L. Hoggan received the Leopold von Ranke Prize of the *Gesellschaft zur Foerderung Geschichtswissenschaftlicher Forschung e.V.* for his *Der Erzwungene Krieg.*" Nobody of the German historians questioned had ever heard of this society. Eventually it was discovered that it really existed. It was founded (*ad hoc?*) and registered in 1962 in Düsseldorf, not a university town but an industrial center. Among those responsible for the registration is not a single historian, but most of them have a clear-cut Nazi past, and it is assumed that a former *Gauleiter* is the initiator behind the scene. At any rate the "Leopold von Ranke Prize" is, to put it mildly, a misnomer abusing the name of the famous honorary member of the AHA in order to give the forthcoming American edition of the Hoggan book (first published in Germany by a well-known former Nazi) a totally undeserved credit.

Universities of Chicago and Tübingen HANS ROTHFELS

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Åström, S.-E., "From Stockholm to St. Petersburg," 206.
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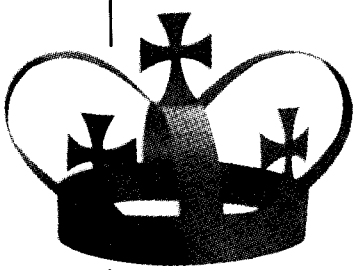
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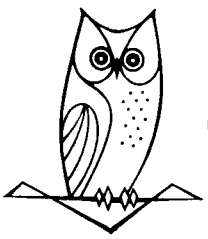
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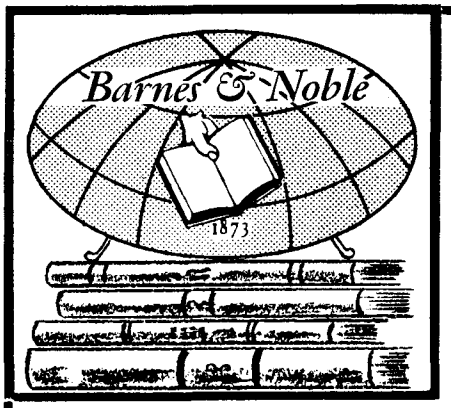
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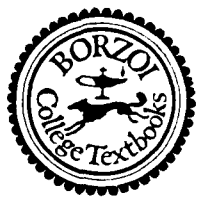
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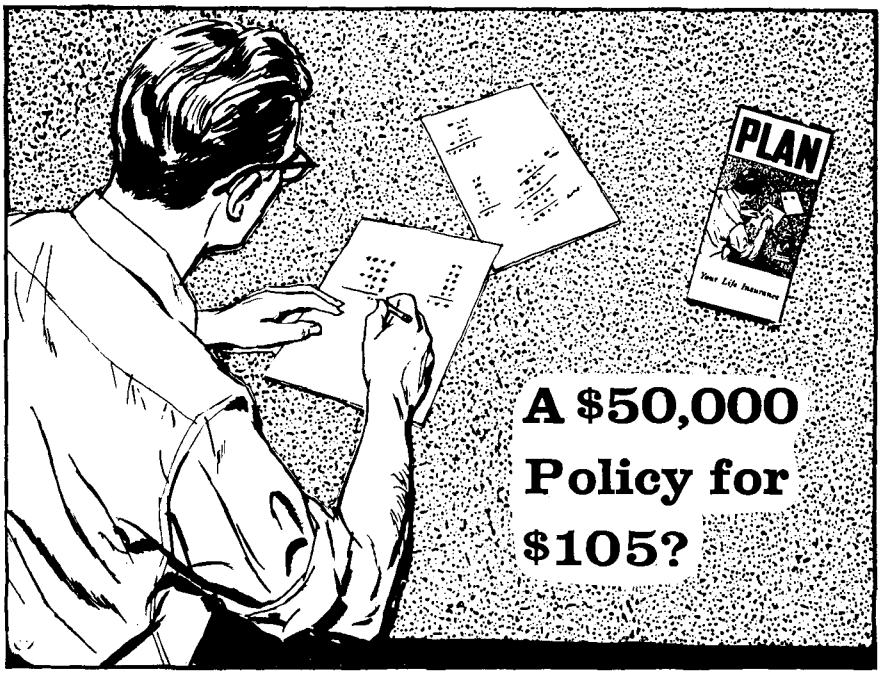
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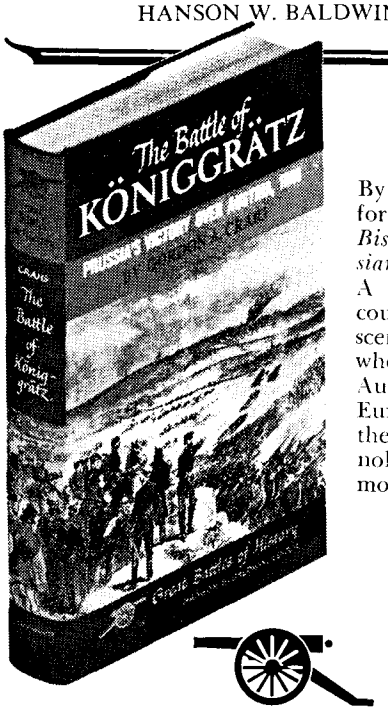
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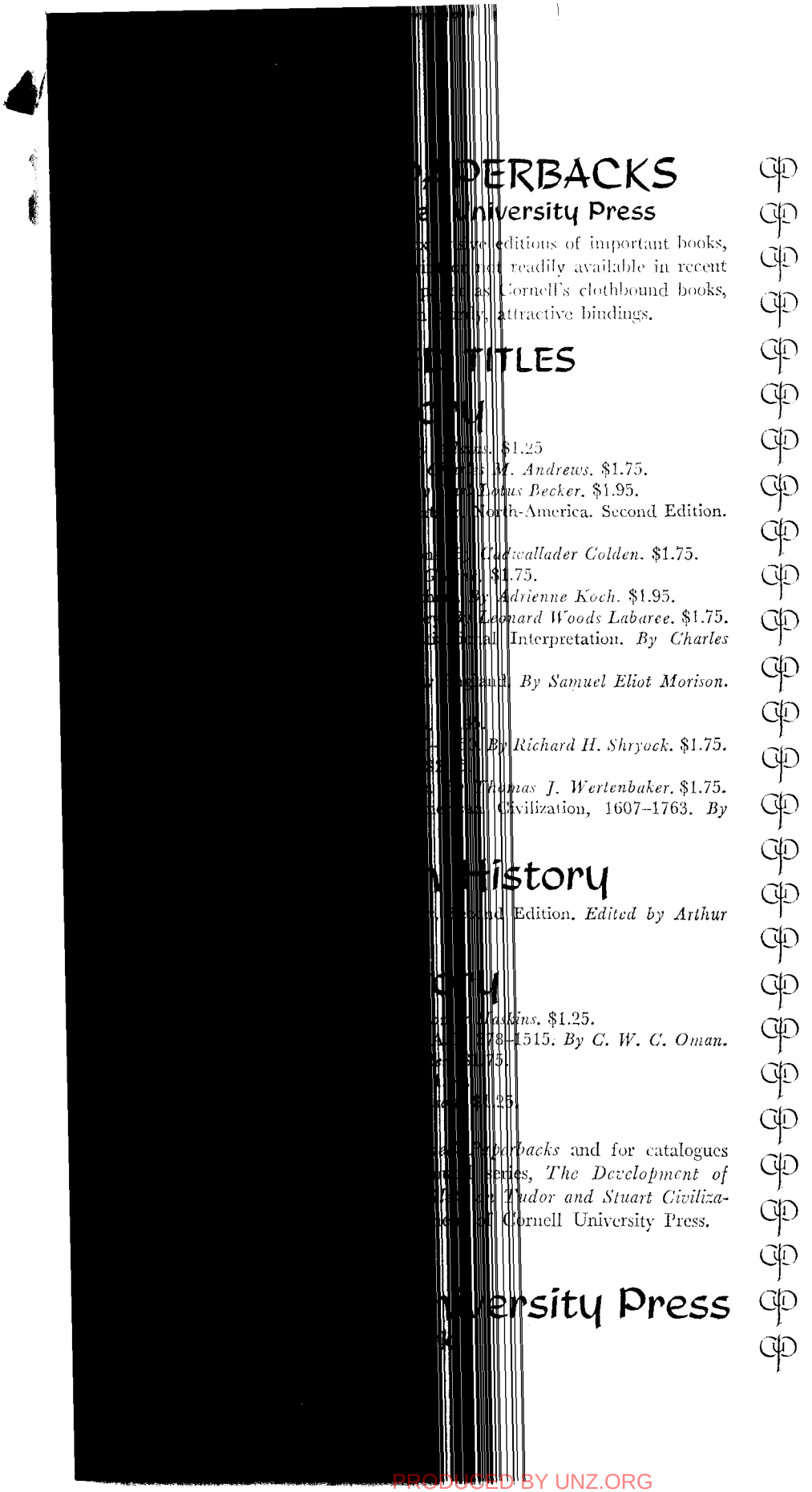
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